Birmingham And Tolerance

No matter what its other merits and advantages, unless Birmingham possesses the spirit of tolerance it cannot be a good city.

There have been times when intolerance has shown itself among us in serious, even widespread ways, and the ugliness and evil of such manifestations surely should be a warning and something of a protection against repetition. Generally speaking, however, there is a tolerant feeling among us—at least in a broad, vague sort of way. But this is not enough. A conscious and positive determination is essential if we are to build into this community through the years a strongly dominant, ever-living spirit and a growing tradition of tolerance.

For tolerance, of course, is the atmosphere of freedom. Without it, men cannot live together in mutual respect and cooperation. Birmingham News

* * *

Tolerance recognizes that the minds of all men are fallible, that no man is qualified to set himself as a dictator of the ideas and aspirations of his fellow. Alabama

This realization dictates a generous and respectful attitude toward the honest convictions of those who differ with oneself. Tolerance realizes that such differences cannot be eliminated by any form of force and that fear only makes them more acute.

Tolerance is sensitive to the struggle in which all human beings are involved and aware that limitations of many kinds handicap us all. It therefore makes for compassion and understanding—the kind of understanding in which all differences among men can be finally resolved.

True tolerance is all-inclusive. It does not exclude from its creative and healing influences any group or class or race. It combats hatred and prejudice wherever it is encountered.

Tolerance does not condone evil. It does not uphold falsehood. But where men obviously are sincerely seeking good, where they are honestly seeking truth, tolerance respects freedom of the mind and the dignity of the individual.

Only such a spirit can make possible the unimpeded pursuit of truth and a feeling of fellowship among men.

* * *

How about it, then, here in Birmingham? Is there such a true and active spirit of tolerance among us?

Are we consciously trying to strengthen such a spirit? Sun 4-21-46

Or are we not very directly mindful of this essential spirit of a good city? Are we shut off in our various groups, indifferent or even hostile, sometimes, toward each other, not even trying very hard to develop mutual understanding?

Is Birmingham a city of real and growing tolerance?

THE NEGRO IS NOT CONTENT

To the Editor of The News:

A letter of the Feb. 15 issue of The News asked this question: "Can the Negro be content?" *B'ham News, Ala.*

I am sure I voice the sentiment of every Negro in Alabama when I say we are not content nor satisfied with the conditions of injustice, but are influenced for fear of undue punishment from officers of the law who take the rights of the court into their own hands as in the case of Hood, the Marine, who was killed. *Wed 2-27-46*

We don't think Sen. Bankhead is very well acquainted with us to say we are content and satisfied with conditions, but we trust that some of the good talks about brotherhood will be heard everywhere and something will be done to promote justice regardless to race.

(MRS.) LENORA S. MYATT,
Chairman Mother, Home, Child Dept., Ala. Federation of Negro Women's Clubs

ALABAMA MUST REMOVE HANDICAPS

To the Editor of The News-Age-Herald:

We, as Negro citizens, appeal to the public to get that bramble patch out of the way and clear the field of selfishness, grudge and hate, so that the game of life can go forward.

We don't have the same opinions of things, but there's no reason to crush a race or an individual because of an opinion. In this land of democracy, before songs or programs are heard over the air, radio officials must investigate the nature of them. I think some speeches made over the air should be heard also. The motto for any free religious state or country could be: "Freedom to do good, regardless of race."

We march forward and together under one flag that symbolizes all our freedoms of worship and of speech. When the handicaps of one race or races are removed, then the state and nation will be stronger and will then march up the ladder of success.

KATE WOOD HEARD,
Eighth Grade Teacher, Muscoda High School.

Segregation Called Essential To Both Races By Governor

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Tues. 11-12-46

Negro Head Of NAACP Contradicts Sparks In Solicited Reply

(Text of questions submitted to the Governor and answers by him appears on Page 8.)

Chauncey Sparks, outgoing Governor of Alabama, declared Monday "absolute segregation" of whites and Negroes was essential in the South, and claimed Alabama's new voting restrictions would prevent political strife between "a Negro party and a white party."

Sparks made his observations in answer to a series of written questions by the Associated Press. His comments immediately drew fire from Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, at the behest of New York reporters. He said in New York:

"No intelligent person either believes or fears there will be a 'Negro political bloc' except on issues like the poll tax, anti-lynching legislation, FEPC, and other issues which are created not by Negroes but by those who would deny even rudimentary justice to Negroes because they are Negroes."

There was no comment from Governor-elect James Folsom, who will succeed Sparks in January. Folsom was mentioned by White, along with Gov. Ellis Arnall of Georgia and President Frank Graham of the University of North Carolina, as among "more enlightened Southerners" who are "thinking and speaking more realistically than is Gov. Sparks."

Sparks was asked: "What, in your opinion, are the prospects of future harmonious relations between the two races in the South?" He answered: "Good."

Q. "How will enactment of the Boswell Amendment (requiring voters to be able to 'understand and explain' the Constitution instead of merely to read it) contribute to amicable and mutually beneficial development of both races?"

A. "By producing an understanding on the part of both races that their problems are mutual and not dissimilar; that the welfare of their region concerns both, and that the character of government which they have showed be beneficial to both races and not for the benefit or advantage of either."

Q. Had it failed (of adoption) would it, in your opinion, have retarded this development to any marked degree?

A. "Its failure would have retarded this development because it would have brought about an intensified racial conflict, racial antagonism to the extent of each seeking to advantage through numerical strength or suppression of the other. It would, moreover, have created a two-race situation in the State in a political way—that is, a Negro party and a white party. This will always be harmful and lead to nothing but physical conflict, if not armed conflict."

An opposite view, however, was taken by a veteran Negro educator, Jresident F. D. Patterson of Tuskegee Institute. He called adoption of the Boswell Amendment a "mistake" and observed "the chances of unfair administration are too great." During the campaign, opponents of the amendment claimed it would give arbitrary power to county registrars. *Advertiser*

Sparks frequently has lashed out against what he terms "outside interference" in Southern affairs, and he was asked: "To what degree, if any, has that (alleged interference) hindered racial relations in the South, and what will be the outcome if it persists?" *Montgomery, Ala.*

Sparks answered this at considerable length, saying in part: "Any effort from outside or inside the South to propagandize one race against the other on the basis of false issues, unobtainable statutes and undesirable relationships will always be harmful." *Tues. 11-12-46*

Sparks continued: "Tolerance does not mean that we will accept any people unconditionally and in every aspect of life. On the other hand, tolerance means, and I hope some day will be recognized by our Northern friends (if we can call them friends), as an agreement to a realistic basis of adjustment of things that God and nature have made so different.

"The white man can be the friend of the Negro, and vice versa. He can live beside the Negro, he can encourage the Negro and vice versa. He can see that he gets justice, education, better health, home life, environmental conditions, and yet not be dubbed an intolerant because he recognizes the necessity of segregation and of no social equality, and a careful protection of our electoral franchise. If these things be intolerance, then intolerance becomes the greatest shield of self-defense."

Alabama

Sparks said he hoped the South could demonstrate that the two races "can live together without regard to amalgamation, and in equal justice, protection and opportunities to all," but added: "This can't be done as long as we are harassed by cynics, the spiteful critics and platitudinous preachers, either without or within. . . . If this outside interference continues, only one result may be looked for—a stiffening of the opposition of the Southern white man to any reasonable and just approach to the settlement of the race question."

In New York, White deplored Sparks' comment, saying: "It is unfortunate for the South and for the country as a whole that the Governor of a southern state should again raise at a time like this the red herring about 'outside interference' in the affairs of the South and nightmarish visions of a 'Negro voting bloc'."

Racial Segregation Vital In South, Alabama's Outgoing Governor Says

The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.

Tues. 11-12-46

Draws Fire Of N.A.A.C.P.

Montgomery, Ala., Nov. 11 (AP)—Chauncey Sparks, outgoing Governor of Alabama, declared today "absolute segregation" of whites and Negroes was essential in the South, and claimed Alabama's new voting restrictions would prevent political strife between "a Negro party and a white party."

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"No intelligent person either believes or fears there will be a 'Negro political bloc' except on issues like the poll tax, anti-lynching legislation, F.E.P.C., and other issues which are created not by Negroes but by those who would deny even rudimentary justice to Negroes because they are Negroes."

Defines Tolerance.

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"Tolerance ... we will accept any people unconditionally and in every aspect of life," he continued. "On the other hand, tolerance means, and I hope some day will be recognized by our Northern friends (if we can call them friends), as an agreement to a realistic basis of adjustment of things that God and nature have made so different.

Says Friendship Possible.

Associated Press Wirephoto.
GOVERNOR SPARKS
Says race harmony possible.

"The white man can be the friend of the Negro, and vice versa. He can live beside the Negro, he can encourage the Negro, and vice versa. He can see that he gets justice, education, better health, home life, environmental conditions, and yet not be dubbed an intolerant because he recognizes the necessity of segregation and of no social equality, and a careful protection of our [...]erance becomes the greatest shield of self-defense."

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electoral franchise. If these things be intolerance, then intol-

ALABAMA NEEDS TOLD TO ROTARY BY GOV. SPARKS

If Alabama is to continue to advance in a changing world, her citizens must recognize the need for modern industrial development, continually broadening educational concepts and an open minded attitude toward new conceptions of human relations and activities, Gov. Chauncey Sparks told members of the Rotary Club here yesterday.

Speaking at a luncheon meeting of the club at the Tutwiler Hotel, Gov. Sparks asserted that "Alabama well night could be made self-sustaining if we directed out energies toward an integrated economy that provided first for all of our own needs."

Steel Goods Production Urged

Pointing to the fact that Alabama is the seventh state in the production of steel and that she produces more steel than all of the other Southern states combined, the governor said that very little of that raw material is made by Alabama industry into consumer or industrial goods.

"We have wood resources which are third largest in the United States," he asserted, "but we find in our mercantile establishments few of the wood products which we use daily that are Alabama-made.

"This state has the ability to produce almost every kind of food. Our grocers have on their shelves vast quantities of processed foods which we purchase regularly. Oddly enough just a small fraction of them is prepared here."

Other States Held Aided

"Such conditions," Gov. Sparks said, "mean that we have made large contributions to the peoples of other sections which have made them creditors and us debtors."

Turning to the race situation, the governor said, "Our Negro population is at the depths in income and wealth. If it were higher up the the scale, Alabama would be more prosperous."

Asserting that the South was "fived in its views" that the races should be segregated and that there shall be no social squality, the governor added, "These basic principles are no handicap to he progress, side by side, of both races. The one which has had long exzperience in developing a civilization should encourage the other to high achievement."

"It is an investment in the prosperity and contentment of all of us to nourish the education, well-being, health, better home life, morale, determination and spirit of our colored people."

FEPC Is Opposed

The governor pointed out, however, that any attempts to inflict upon the South legislation or practices which violate its fundamental conceptions of the race situation will do no good. "The effort to place upon our people what is called a Fair Employment Practices Commission is but a scheme to produce, under the guise of economic law, a social condition for which we do not stand and which we cannot accept," he said, adding that such agitations which continue to "plague" the South are harmful, and never helpful.

Reviewing the labor situation, the state's chief executive asserted that cheap labor is never satisfactory or profitable, either for the employer or for the employe. "The exploitation of labor for personal gain may enrich a few for a while," the governor said, "but at the immediate expense of the restof the long-range disadvantage of all."

Gov. Sparks said that while Alabama had made great strides in the educational field, and that her educational base is being broadened and its quality improved, "she must continue to go on from this stage, sparing no effort or sacrifice."

Declaring that the state's agriculture has obtained new vision, is more varied and, therefore, better protected than at any time in the past, the governor asserted, however, that "in trucking, dairying, livestock raising, poultry-growing, horticulture and many other branches of agriculture, we have yet untapped possibilities."

Urging that citizens of the state open their minds to new ideas and changes, the governor said that while the world is moving on and changing, there are "many Rip Van Winkles among us who mostly dream of years past."

New Ideas Urged

The South, he said, has perhaps an unwarranted entrenched opposition to new ideas and changes. "In our views upon labor, wages and hours and conditions of employment," he asserted, "it is my opinion, we have failed to match the needs of modern society. Our monds should not be closed. They should always be open and willing to profit by the findings and conclusions of others."

In closing, the governor said, "Alabama in this new day can and must adjust herself to its demands. If she does not, it is easy to prophesy that she will be a backward and unprofitable state. If she does, it is just as easy to prophesy that she will be in the forefront, not only in the progress of the nation, but also in the progress of the world."

Sparks Implores South To Face Its Problems

BY ALYCE BILLINGS WALKER
News Staff Writer

"Alabama could well-nigh be self-sustaining if we directed our energies toward an integrated economy that provided first for all of our own needs," Gov. Chauncey Sparks told members of the Birmingham Rotary Club in an address yesterday at their luncheon-meeting, in which he telescoped things which have contributed to "unfavorable circumstances" in which the South finds itself.

Discriminatory freight rate structures, other trade barriers, lack of education, failure to implement natural resources, a race problem and politics were cited by the governor as contributing to the South's and Alabama's retarded economic and social condition, along with a spirit of inertia that is satisfied to get along with what served our forebears and a fear that change will leave us behind in the game.

"We perhaps are not altogether as progressive as we should be. We do not always face squarely those things which have proved themselves to be necessary," the governor said in prefacing his own remarks that pulled no punches.

ON THE RACE QUESTION he said, "Our Negro population is at the depths in income and wealth. If it were higher up the scale, Alabama would be more prosperous. . . . The South is fixed in its views upon two matters: first, absolute segregation; and, second, no social equality. These basic principles are no handicap to the progress, side by side, of the two races. The one which has had long experience in the development of civilization should encourage the other, to a high achievement. . . . It is an investment in the prosperity and contentment of all of us to nourish the education, well-being, health, better home life, morale, determination, and spirit of our colored people."

In relation to this problem, the governor struck out at Fair Employment Practices Commission with "any attempts to inflict upon the South legislation or practices which violate our fundamental conceptions will do no good, and may be expected to retard substantially our internal growth. The effort to place upon our people what is called a Fair Employment Practices Commission is but a scheme to produce, under the guise of economic law, a social condition for which we do not stand and which we cannot accept. Such agitations continue to plague the South are harmful, never helpful. If the individual states desire to enact such laws, let them do so."

WITH THE SAME FRANKNESS, the governor looked at the employer-employe problem, stating:

"Cheap labor is never satisfactory or profitable, either for the employer or the employe. The exploitation of labor for personal gain may enrich a few for a while, but at the immediate expense of the rest and the long-range disadvantage of all."

Avowing his belief that there is a solution to the labor-management problem, the governor continued, "I think we must recognize that the laboring man, who is just as vital in our production scheme as the machine which he operates, has a vested interest in our industry. A fair participation in the fruits of the partnership of worker and owner is but simple justice."

HE CALLED UPON THE SOUTH'S LEADERS to rid themselves of "outworn shibboleths" and recognize that we use terms that seem to, but do not, fit our case because our thinking is loose and often ancient. "So many of us speak the words 'free enterpirse' and 'private enterprise' without any accurate conception of what they mean in relation to our present-day life. There can be no absolutely free enterprise any more than there can be an absolutely free individual. Both must submit to regulations necessary among a civilized people. The individual must surrender much to have what society gives him. In like manner, industry must conform to regulations necessary to an orderly economy. The world is moving on and progressing, but there are among us Rip Van Winkles who mostly dream of years past, waking at intervals to cry loudly to turn back the clock."

The governor challenged that "in our thinking, as well as in our action, we must be willing to accept the new and try it. In our views (the South) upon labor, wages and hours, and conditions of employment, in my opinion, we have failed to match the needs of modern society."

Predicting that if Alabama adjusts herself to the demands of this new era, the governor declared that "she will be in the forefront, not only in the progress of her nation, but also in the progress of the world."

THE WRONG MEDICINE, GOVERNOR!

The Governor of Alabama said some things before the Mobile Convention of the Alabama State Bar Association Friday afternoon that, coming from a man high in American public life, have a strange and a disturbing sound.

In speaking on "The Lawyer's Future in Politics," Chauncey Sparks discussed the warring philosophies abroad in the world and wisely pointed out that lawyers who depend only upon precedent today, ignoring the turmoil and storm, are lost. The Governor said "The political leader of today, whatever may be his station in life, and whatever may be the area of his influence, must assist in directing the course through this storm and into port safely rather than turn back, appease, and seek the haven of "laissez-faire."

From this point the Governor speaks words that sound strangely unlike him.

"In the present world of conflicting political ideals," the Governor says, "our people must be realists and face facts and not undertake to create a Utopia."

How would the Governor be realistic and face facts?

"Have we not been spellbound by platitudes?" he asks. "Isn't our blind adherence to freedom of speech, of press, and of assembly forcing us to absorb, or attempt to absorb, those among us who would destroy us if they had the chance? Haven't we paid tribute to the old adage we have often used on the Fourth of July, 'I do not agree with what you say but I would defend to the death your right to say it,' so long that we have become soft and careless?"

The Governor goes on to call this country "the dumping ground for Russia's Communists." He is afraid, as The Advertiser is, of the "native Americans who, so to speak, have sworn allegiance to Soviet Russia. They are potential traitors ready to act at any minute America finds itself at war with Russia."

What shall we do in this situation? Governor Sparks says "we should have the courage to stop a political disease by preventive medicine rather than by a major operation"—meaning, he continues, that "tolerance" must not be used "in the sense of tolerating destructive philosophies, subversive acts and exciting speeches. . . ."

The Advertiser shares Governor Sparks' concern about Communists, both in Russia and in the United States, but strongly doubts that he has prescribed the proper "preventive medicine."

We do not agree that in this country we have a "blind adherence" to freedom of speech, of press, and of assembly, and we deny that these are mere "platitudes." Rather they are the bedrock of our form of government. Our traditional regard for them is the glory of our Republic and the best proof that our eyes are open wide to the meaning of man's dignity.

Take away freedom of speech, press and assembly and what would you have left? Simply another police state, differing in some ways, but still unbearably close kin to the fascist and communist dictatorships.

The Governor says, "America must cleanse itself of traitorous philosophies, Fifth Columnists, and infiltration."

Very well, Governor, how shall we start cleansing ourselves of "traitorous philosophies." Shall we begin by burning the books? Shall we make it a prison offense to mention the word "communist"? Shall we have an agent of the Committee on Un-American Activities to sit beside every editor and tell him what he shall and shall not say? What individual or board will decide what groups may have permits for assembly?

Would that work? Would a vast abrogation of the American principles of freedom give us the needed strength with which to oppose the dangers that beset us? Can we defeat the fascists and communists by patterning after them? Sat. 9-7-46

The Governor does well to point to the disease, but he offers the wrong medicine. A program of witch-hunting and oppression would dignify and make to multiple the evil which we oppose. Worse than that, in our mistaken zeal we would not defeat the enemy, but become his twin brother.

Communism can be stopped only by a political philosophy which constantly demonstrates its superior worth to the people. The best encouragement to communism in this country today is not in our freedom of speech, press, and assembly, but in our failures—in the discontent among our people due to bad housing, to soaring prices, to the revelations of wartime profiteering and corruption, to unfair treatment of minorities, to the constant deterioration of the "little man" before the might of corporate "bigness."

And worst of all is the dejection of the American spirit about which so many are writing. In the flush of victory we have not turned in humility to God—or to whatever nobility a man may choose to turn—but to material things. We confess to a lack of faith in our democracy and in our world. That is what we need, Governor—a belief in something. Lead us to that—not to the loss of American freedom!

The Paternal Theory Of Race Relations

The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky. Wed. 11-13-46

A KINDLY feudalism of the past still suffuses the racial views of a number of Southerners who honestly consider themselves more enlightened than the TALMADGES and the BILBOS. Hardly a better sample of it could be found than the race relations statement of Alabama's retiring Governor CHAUNCEY SPARKS.

Everything, says Governor SPARKS, would be all right in the South were it not for meddling outsiders. "The white man can be the friend of the Negro, and vice versa. He can live beside the Negro, he can encourage the Negro, and vice versa."

But this amicable sharing of things stops with the vote. While Governor SPARKS denies any fear of a "Negro political bloc," he asserts "the necessity of segregation and of no social equality, and a careful protection of our electoral franchise." That is just a way of saying he believes the Negro should have no vote. And without a vote, the Negro is dependent utterly on the dubious bounty of the white South for education, economic opportunity, and justice. Is it any wonder that he finds in Governor SPARKS' views, benign as they may sound, cause for distress as deep as that occasioned by such forthright enemies as Georgia's TALMADGE and Mississippi's BILBO?

Questions And Answers By Governor On Race Relations

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Tues. 11-12-46

Following is the question-and-answer text on Gov. Chauncey Sparks' statements on race relations:

Q.—What, in your opinion, are the prospects of future harmonious relations between the two races in the South?

A.—Good.

Q.—How will enactment of the Boswell Amendment contribute to amicable and mutually beneficial development of both races?

A.—By producing an understanding on the part of both races that their problems are mutual and not dissimilar, that the welfare of their region concerns both, and that the character of Government which they have should be beneficial to both races and not for the benefit or advantage of either.

Q.—Had it failed, would it, in your opinion, have retarded this development to any marked degree?

A.—Its failure would have retarded this development because it would have brought about an intensified racial conflict; racial antagonism to the extent of each seeking to attain advantage through numerical strength or suppression of the other. It would have moreover created a two-race situation in the State in a political way—that is a Negro party and a white party. This will always be harmful and lead to nothing but physical conflict, if not armed conflict.

Q.—With the new voting restrictions written into law, will the Negro be encouraged to lift himself up economically and socially or will he find discouragement?

A.—I think the Negro will be encouraged to lift himself up economically. For he must know that if he is an honorable member of society and of the business life around him his position will be enhanced, his influence increased, and his participation in Government more satisfactory. One reason he has been slow in developing is because of his lack of economic aspirations. Anything that will encourage this will be helpful. Restrictions on certain rights which can be attained only by character, intelligence and education, certainly would encourage one to lift himself in those respects.

Q.—What, in your opinion, is the first essential for a workable two-race society in the South? What is the first step toward it?

A.—The first essential of a workable racial society is a recognition of the basic fact that we are two races. The first step is absolute segregation. Contact is irritating, is not essential except in business or labor relations, and will not retard the independent development of either race. With his own churches and schools, hotels and cafes, swimming pools and recreational grounds, the Negro will not only be encouraged in developing himself and his race but will find a measure of satisfaction in the segregation that gives him an opportunity to develop independently. In his economic life he should have that separation; also in his profession, in most business, in his club life, and in his commercial and trade organizations. In short, we must learn to develop independently, just as the white race has had to do, and thus strengthen his character and consequently his position in the body public.

Q.—You have spoken often against "outside interference" from persons in the north and east. To what degree, if any, has that hindered racial relations in the south, and what will be the outcome if it persists?

A.—Any effort from outside or inside the South to propagandize one race against the other on the basis of false issues, unobtainable statutes and undesirable relationships will always be harmful. Tolerance does not mean that we will accept any people unconditionally and in every aspect of life. On the other hand, tolerance means, and I hope some day will be recognized by our northern friends (if we can call them friends), an agreement to a realistic basis of adjustment of things that God and nature have made so different. The white man can be the friend of the Negro and vice versa. He can live beside the Negro, he can encourage the Negro and vice versa. He can see that he gets justice, education, better health, home life, en-

tronic devices for aiding navigation demonstrated both in the exhibit hall and on the airport.

vironmental conditions, and yet not be dubbed an intolerant because he recognizes the necessity of segregation, of no social equality and a careful protection of our electoral franchise. If these things be intolerance, then intolerance become the greatest shield in self-defense.

The south, I hope, can demonstrate something the world has never seen—that two dissimilar and differently colored races can live together without regard to amalgamation, and in equal justice, protection and opportunities to all. This can't be done as long as we are harassed by cynics, the spiteful critics and platitudinous preachers, either without or within. In dealing with this question, it is like all others, it has its realistic side and we lose the ability to solve it when we become emotionally unrealistic. If our neighbors would take their heads out of the clouds and look on the ground they could lead us a better and stronger route. If this outside interference continues only one result may be looked for—a stiffening of the opposition of the Southern white man to any reasonable and just approach to the settlement of the race question.

NAACP Denounces 'Absolute Segregation'

Yesterday's appeal by Gov. Chauncey Sparks, of Alabama, for "absolute segregation" as the "first essential of a workable racial society" was bitterly criticized by Walter White, executive secretary of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.

"The South," said White, "wants to be a nation apart in practicing segregation, discrimination and bigotry."

"It is unfortunate for the South, and for the country as a whole, that the Governor of a Southern state should again raise at a time like this the red herring of 'outside interference' in the affairs of the South and nightmarish visions of a 'Negro voting bloc.'

"No intelligent person either believes or fears there will be a 'Negro political bloc' except on issues like the poll tax, anti-lynching legislation, FEPC and other issues which are created not by Negroes, but by those who would deny even rudimentary justice to Negroes because they are Negroes."

White cited Georgia's Gov. Ellis Arnall, Alabama's Gov. Elect Jim Folson and Frank Graham, President of the University of North Carolina as men who "are thinking and speaking more realistically than is Gov. Sparks."

Sparks had said:

"Contact (between races) is irritating and not essential except in business or labor relations. With his own churches and schools, hotels and cafes, swimming pools and recreational grounds, the Negro will not only be encouraged in developing himself and his race, but will find a measure of satisfaction in the segregation that gives him an opportunity to develop independently.

Willowbrook race troubles summed up

Los Angeles Tribune California

Sat 3-9-46

How the settled Negro population in Willowbrook, an area north of Compton, was skeptical of the southern Negroes who in-migrated there during the war was told by Mrs. Marian Wagstaff, Willowbrook junior high school principal, at a recent meeting of the Los Angeles County Committee for Interracial Progress.

The first Negroes in Willowbrook, originally settled by Mexicans and then by whites, replaced white families in some sections. All three groups were on a low economic level.

With World War II, a few Mexican nationals, Mexicans from New Mexico and Arizona, and southern whites and Negroes arrived. At first, the Negro arrivals lived in the Mexican section, but soon moved to the 2,000-unit housing project which was built in the western part of the area and designated as a Negro community. They and the incoming whites, being from the deep South and representing people with little economic stability, offered many problems to already settled Negro families.

At present, Willowbrook junior high school students are 28% Negro, 22% Mexican, and the remaining 50% mostly white. There are two distinct Mexican gangs within the Willowbrook area, and if a boy from one group dates a girl from the other, trouble ensues.

Sat 3-9-46

Fraternization between Willowbrook Negroes and neighboring groups in Watts was not on a sound basis in the beginning. According to Mrs. Wagstaff, relationships have "improved greatly" since a definite recreation program was instituted for them at the county housing project, Palm Lane.

Delinquency rates are similar to the Chicago "Loop" area, where it was found that rates were approximately 17% for Catholic, Jew, German, Italian, Swiss, Negro, Mexican, and white, because while people changed, the economic and social conditions did not. In recent months the delinquency problem has decreased slightly, according to the sheriff's substation.

Objectors Start Strike Over Segregation Case

Montgomery Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

LOS ANGELES, May 19.—(AP)—County jail authorities reported tonight that six conscientious objectors held for federal authorities had started a hunger strike because one of their number, a Negro, was segregated from the rest.

Richard Stanhouse, the Negro, was placed in a cell to himself, while the others were quartered with other prisoners. Jail Inspector Charles A. Fitzgerald said races always had been segregated because "we find it prevents internal disorder among prisoners." *Mon. 5-20-46*

He said the conscientious objectors who refused to eat breakfast and dinner today were Marvin Shapiro, Howard Goldstein, Harold Holden, John Atherton, Edward Behre and Stanhouse.

West Coast Businessmen Doctors Boost Jim Crow

The Defender Chicago, Ill.

Sat. 11-2-46

SAN FRANCISCO — (ANP) — Two groups of presumably factual minded men, boosting Jim Crow policies out of self interest, are preventing advances in medical science and working to disrupt human relations in this most cosmopolitan of cities.

Frank Doherty, former president of the Chamber of Commerce, and Thomas Deane, vice president of the Bank of America, are officers of a Committee for Tolerance, organization fighting passage of FEPC. Spokesman for the worn out theory that California's minorities—Japanese, Chinese, Filipino and Negro—like being segregated, they prevent legislation which would end for all time the prewar practice of paying farm help at various rates depending upon nationality.

Dividing minorities to exploit them, the Committee for Tolerance strives to prevent, even with violence, the toleration its name proclaims. The Bank of America owns mortgages on great California acreages. A Fair Employment Practices Act, it adequate, would encourage union of the four minority groups, strengthening of labor unions, and decent living standards.

Second group in the Golden Gate City to indulge in double-talk are the doctors. There is no written rule which prevents Negro physicians from the staffs of local hospitals, but while they may take their patients there — and turn them over to white staff doctors—Negroes are not on hospital staffs.

White medicos point out that this is not a Jim Crow policy, that many white doctors are in the same position because most hospitals are private. To join the staff you must be invited by the present staff members. In the case of hospitals publicly supported, the University of California and Stanford Medical School professors make up the staffs. If you are not teaching in either school your chances of getting in, with your patient, to city and county hospitals are practically non-existent.

In San Francisco one Negro physician, a graduate of the University of California with a degree of doctor of philosophy, in addition to his MD, has never obtained a hospital staff appointment.

In addition to working financial hardships on Negro physicians by causing them to turn over to white doctors all their surgery cases, which lack of facilities prevents them from doing in homes or offices, this causes disruption of the patient-doctor relationship, a lessening of confidence necessary often to the correct treatment of disease.

Each application of a Negro doctor for appointment to a hospital brings the same response. "Try again in two years." One doctor has been trying for 20. At present Stanford is appointing new staff physicians in its fifth floor expansion program. However, most of the hospitals make frequent additions to their staffs. But they don't add Negro physicians.

49 1946

Connecticut

AMERICA REVISITED

Connecticut—First Home Of FEPC

Hartford Pattern Is Integration -- To A Point

By ENOC P. WATERS JR.

HARTFORD, Conn. — Hartford has the big city air and the charm of a small New England town in juxtaposition.

It has, also, side by side, two conflicting theories of the Negro's position in the society.

The elements of the former are well blended, and Hartford, in spite of some of its architectural incongruities is a pretty, trim and tidy little city.

But the irreconcilable factors of the latter have Hartford floundering in a dilemma.

Its historical past—that extends back to its founding by the Dutch in 1633—has produced Noah Webster's dictionary, Harriet Beecher Stowe's classic "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and the long forgotten "Nigger Elections" that happily are not a part of the present.

But the present has vestiges of that sorry "Nigger Election" custom in ingrained traditions, in reactionary social thinking and in certain institutions, all of which tend to perpetuate the old racial double standard concept.

No one seems to know when the "Nigger Elections" started, and I found no one who could recall when the last one was held. Their inception must have come less than 200 years ago when Negroes were first recorded as living in Hartford.

In 1770 there were 5,572 Negroes in the state of whom 2,648 were slaves. Ten years later there were only 951 slaves in the state and by 1850 all had been freed.

It must have been during this 80 year period that the "Nigger Elections" got started. It was a mock election at which a full slate of Negro city officials was voted into office.

This induction ceremony set off a series of wild celebrations among the Negro population. The whole thing was encouraged by the whites who looked forward to it each year as anxiously as the Negroes because of the entertainment it afforded them.

Paternalistic Attitude

In those early days the whites had a paternalistic attitude toward Negroes not unlike that found in the south today. Though no effort was made to keep Negroes from participating in the regular elections, the "Nigger Election" was a device used to deflect the attention of Negroes from the more important civic elections for which, it was felt, the Negro had not quite qualified because of his lowly status in the community.

By 1890 Hartford had grown to a city of 53,230 of whom 1,400 were Negroes and the census of 1900 records the total state population as being 908,420 with 15,226 Negroes. During the next decade the migration of Negroes from farm to city within the state began. This is borne out by census figures showing that by 1910 the total Negro population of the state had dropped to 15,174, but the Negro population of Hartford had increased to 1,745.

This trend continued and by 1920 when there were 21,046 Negroes in the state, Hartford's Negro population had leaped to 4,199. According to the 1940 census, Connecticut had a Negro population of 32,992 of whom 7,090, or roughly a little less than one fourth, lived in Hartford.

It might be because most Negroes now living in the state are city dwellers and that the greatest concentration of Negroes in the state is in Hartford that sociologists feel that by studying the Negro of Hartford, they have an index to the Negroes of the state. For general purposes, therefore what is true of Hartford is true of the state in any consideration of the Negroes and their problems.

Whites and Negroes working side by side illustrate the effects of Connecticut's State Interracial Commission. Set up in 1943, the Commission was the first government Fair Employment Practices group in the nation. Attacked as "powerless and toothless," the Commission has helped up the employment of Negroes in industry by education, reason. Above, Ann Savoie (left) and Alzinier Broughton proof-fire guns in armory.—Acme Photo.

Limit Opportunities

The same paternalism that fostered the "Nigger Elections" was also responsible for circumscribing the occupational opportunities of Negroes.

Traditionally Negroes in Hartford are domestics and service workers. They have never been a large enough element of the population to be politically effective.

Today with more Negroes in Hartford than ever before, approximately 10,539, they constitute only 5.3 per cent of the population and only 3.8 per cent of the potential voting strength.

In addition, because they are not hemmed in as the Negroes are in many other cities—they live in all but eight of the city's 41 census tracts—they have not developed the homogeneity found among Negroes in places where they are concentrated in one area. So Negroes, as a mass, have not been able to make their presence known.

The fact is the presence of Negroes in Hartford was barely known until after the first World War I when the labor shortage began to force them from the kitchen to the factory.

Because of their lack of experience, their lack of seniority and the old stereotype conception of their ability, they were given the menial and unskilled jobs in industry and there they remain for the most part even today. Only a minute fragment of private industry's $89,000,000 annual payroll goes into the pockets of Negroes.

This is just as true in public as in private employment. In 1944, according to a study made by the National Urban League, the percentage of Negro workers on the public payroll was far below his percentage of the population.

Of these few Negro representatives in the city's employ most were unskilled or service workers. Of the approximately 800 teachers employed by the city, less than six were Negroes when the study was made.

Though more than $3,000,000 is spent annually by the board of education for services, less than $30,000 goes to Negroes. The report estimates that Negroes should be receiving at least $100,000 from this source in the form of salaries and wages. The Fire Department that spends $800,000 annually for salaries and wages does not employ one Negro fireman.

Of the $4,088,458 spent annually by other city departments only $37,000 is paid to Negro employes. They are entitled to, on the basis of percentages of the population, $175,000.

The 44 insurance companies here that spend $20,000,000 annually in the form of wages to more than 12,000 workers have, as a group, completely ignored Negroes. By carefully guarding their employment figures no one knows the percentage of Negro to white workers. A safe bet, one social worker told me, is that of the 12,000 workers, not more than 300 are Negroes and all these are in the lowest categories.

Negro businesses in Hartford are few and of small scale. Of the 52 Negro-owned businesses included in the League's report, 10 are lunchrooms; seven are cleaning and pressing shops; six are barber shops and six are taverns. The 52 give employment to 57 full time workers, mostly the proprietors, and 91 part time employes. More than 50 per cent of the 52 came into being during the war.

How Negroes fare in a community can pretty well be judged by their economic opportunities. The difficulty Negroes face here in making a living is reflected in almost every other facet of their lives.

It can be seen in the housing situation, which is serious; in the progress made by children in the schools; in recreation, and health. Crime and juvenile delinquency reflect it.

First, the intention of the state in establishing the commission has been recognized by a number of employers who have voluntarily revised their employment policies. In some cases the action was taken with reluctance, but in the hope that by conforming they would forestall stronger action that might compel them by law to adopt fairer employment practices.

Still another group held out until actually approached by members of the commission investigating complaints filed against them by applicants. Members of the staff expressed surprise at the success they have had in persuading employers to conform with the spirit of the statute.

However, in all these cases the results have been the same and number of Negroes and members of other minority groups today working on jobs heretofore denied them has increased.

In Hartford, three of the leading department stores are using Negro salesgirls and office clerks. Several nursing schools have either accepted Negro students or have agreed to bar them no longer.

In industry the range of occupations has widened considerably for Negroes, and many have been placed in supervisory and white collar jobs. In fact, many concerns that employed Negroes for the first time during the war plan to continue using them.

For example, two factories that hired no Negroes up to 1940 had on their payrolls at the employment peak during the war a total of 126 Negro workers. Today, back to civilian production, and with reduced staffs, they still employ 110 Negroes.

The all-over picture, indicating a trend toward the greater use of Negro labor, is contained in these figures covering 41 of the largest industrial manufacturers in the state.

Negroes employed 1940	896
Negroes employed during the war	6,121
Negroes employed 1946	3,538

One of the most remarkable changes has taken place in the white collar field. In 1940, according to the commission's report, only 16 Negro stenographers and 17 clerical or kindred Negro workers were employed in the entire state. Most of these, the report points out, were employed in Negro establishments or by establishments or agencies dealing principally with Negroes.

Today, however, the number of Negroes in this type of work has gone beyond easy calculation. One of the chief converts was the state itself which now has integrated Negro white collar workers in seven departments. The Western Union Telegraph Company has announced a policy of non-discrimination in employing Negroes as telegraph operators. Local YMCAs and YWCAs in several cities have employed Negro office workers as have many municipal governments and social agencies.

In the professional field there has been a marked increase in the number of Negro public school teachers, librarians and social workers throughout the state. One newspaper, the Waterbury American, hired a Negro girl reporter, who resigned after about a year to accept a better position with a Negro publication outside the state.

All these accomplishments can't be attributed solely to the existence or efforts of the commission. The federal FEPC, and the labor shortage during the war have certainly been factors that can't be discounted.

Progress Not Enough

Though the progress made since 1940 has been remarkable, Connecticut still is far from achieving the employment situation that should exist in a democracy.

There have been some major and notable holdouts in spite of all the persuasiveness of the commission's staff. Chief among these are the railroads that will not budge from their policy of barring Negroes from jobs as engineers, conductors, brakemen, and switchmen; the local transportation corporations that are adamant in their stand against Negro drivers and conductors, and the insurance companies that have repeatedly refused to employ Negroes in other than menial and service capacities.

Hartford is the insurance capital of the world. Here in the towering skyscrapers and massive stone buildings where billions of dollars worth of business is handled annually, almost 10,000 women clerks, typists, bookkeepers and office machine operators are employed.

Not one is a known Negro.

To the Negro here these insurance companies—Aetna, Travelers, Phoenix, Connecticut General, Connecticut Mutual, Hartford Fire and a score of others—are symbols of the Negro's limited employment horizon.

They are the silent Bilbos that say to the Negro more eloquently in deed than the blatant congressman says in words: "You stay in your place. You run the elevators, work in the cafeterias, scrub the floors. You are doomed because you're black."

NEGROES FIND YALE IS NEGATIVE IN AID

Leaders in New Haven Report the University Does Little to Improve Race Relations

Times

SOUTH LURES GRADUATES

New York, N.Y.

Colored Pastor, an Alderman, Says Prejudice Crops Up With Subtlety in City

Wed 7-24-46

By GEORGE STREATOR

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

NEW HAVEN, Conn., July 23—Negroes are not sure of the effect that Yale University exerts on city culture, but they agree that the school does little to improve race relations, several community leaders agreed today.

"Race prejudice is very subtle up here, and it slaps you when it is least expected," they said.

There are about 7,500 Negroes here now, it is stated, which is not a great increase over the pre-war population of 5,700. It was estimated that there were 12,000 Negroes living here during the war, but work petered out and many moved to neighboring towns and settled. Housing is bad here, and has been for many years, some say, dating back to World War I.

The Rev. R. A. G. Foster, pastor of the 126-year old Varick African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church of 242 Dixwell Avenue and Republican member of the city Board of Aldermen since 1943, said that Yale seems to exert little influence on city politics and, as for race prejudice, "in the South, Jim Crow is so plain, one does no guessing, but up here, it crops up when least expected."

Graduates Go South

A few Negroes have been graduated from Yale, he said, but they go elsewhere, "usually down South," to get a job. At the present time, there are about thirty Negroes—other than ministers—in professional positions, and these include three dentists, five physicians, a lawyer, four school teachers, two social workers in State employ, two clerks in city offices and three or four personnel workers in local industry.

There are three policemen, no city firemen, no bus or trolley car drivers and the Connecticut company which controls transportation still opposes hiring Negro drivers, he said.

"Most of our professional people have followed the Negro workers from the South since 1930," he added. "Conditions down South oddly enough seem to give our people more ambition to help themselves."

New Haven has its "Little Harlem" on Dixwell Street. Among the "hopefuls" are Alfred W., George N., and James D. Curry who have returned from service overseas well-supplied with merit citations intent on developing a candy business for many years operated by their father since he came here from Jacksonville, Fla., forty years ago. They have secured a GI loan to remodel their shop.

Alfred H. Modeste, born here fifty-five years ago, and a former Alderman, is a dining-car supervisor for the New Haven Railroad. He is troubled by the new-type grill car which was first put into service before World War II and operated by white girls. He is not certain about the future of the Negro cooks, waiters and stewards.

900 Negroes Employed

The Winchester Repeating Arms Company employed James L. Mitchell ten years ago when the company that employed him in Brooklyn was taken over by New Haven. From a few porters and janitors, the Negro employes increased to 2,500 during the war, then about 17 per cent of the force. Today they number 900, in about the same, if not, higher proportion. Robert A. McMahon, director of publicity for Winchester, said that "integration is genuine" there.

Prices, rents, accommodations are all unsettled questions in New Haven. Mayor William Celentano elected "by an Italian awakening" last November has already set-up a "Fair Rent Committee," but does not expect much from it until "the Governor acts to give us a law with teeth," he said today.

Not only Negroes, but all of us who know what race prejudice means have suffered from slums and job discrimination, he said. He agreed that some sections of the city near Yale's New Haven Hospital—Spruce, York and Oak Streets—"are cesspools of disease and crime" affecting many racial groups. He recalled his own childhood "when the Sargent Company brought Italians here to meet their labor needs."

Wed 7-24-46

Dr. Julian Butterworth of Cornell University has been engaged by the city to study and make recommendations for the school system, he said.

The Mayor maintained that the Negro problems of New Haven could be solved when more leaders were willing to sacrifice their leisure and "put their shoulders to the wheel." He said that a State-supported technical school is about to be erected in New Haven and believed that Negro youth would be aided by this.

Sparks Courier Campaign

Ickes Leads Fight On Capital Jim Crow

Pittsburg, Pa.

Sat 5-4-46 Courier

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Harold L. Ickes, former Secretary of the Interior, uncompromising champion for the Democratic way of life, will be the principal speaker at the mammoth mass meeting to be conducted here at Asbury Methodist Church on Sunday, May 19.

The mass meeting will highlight and dramatize the thirteen-week-old crusade conducted by The Pittsburgh Courier against discrimination and segregation in the Nation's Capital.

Acceptance of The Courier invitation was made last week by Mr. Ickes, following a personal appeal to him by Ira F. Lewis, president of the company.

ATTORNEY RANSOM HEADS COMMITTEE

It was Mr. Ickes who insisted that Marian Anderson sing at The Mall in front of the Lincoln Memorial in 1941, after the DAR had refused her permission to sing in their building—Constitution Hall. More than 75,000 persons, including Mrs. Rosevelt, Mr. Ickes, and high-ranking Government officials, attended the affair. Sat 5-4-46

The Courier's militant campaign, which has attracted nation-wide attention, has been based upon the philosophy that ours is the only capital in the world where segregation and discrimination are practiced with official sanction.

Atty. Leon A. Ransom, former law professor at Howard University, is chairman of a Citizens' Committee here, which will carry on the work begun by The Courier.

Discrimination in Government, the schools, places of amusement and entertainment, housing, and all other ills have been exposed in The Courier series.

Americans All

Post Washington, D.C.

The first postwar celebration of "I Am An American" Day is an occasion for thanksgiving and for rededication to the principles on which American society is based. This is the spirit in which the occasion is to be observed in ceremonies planned for this afternoon on the Washington Monument Grounds. They will give expression to the essential unity and solidarity of the diverse elements merged in this society and to some of the characteristic contributions of each.

We are a thrice-blessed people. We have been spared the worst ravages of war. We have been afforded opportunities to realize our individual potentialities. We have been privileged to live in freedom. These are generalizations. But the shame of our society is that these blessings have not been extended equally to all. So long as there remain elements who do not share in them, the American compact will remain imperfect, unfulfilled. The very validity of this compact is threatened so long as fellow Americans are denied participation in it.

It is a tragic reflection of this denial of full participation that some members of the Washington community have felt it desirable to celebrate the occasion separately this afternoon. Their observance will be one of protest—a protest indisputably justified. Discrimination on grounds of race and color are ugly realities in this National Capital. We can devote "I Am An American" Day to nothing better than a recognition of these injustices and a determination to eradicate them from the life of this city, which is an exemplar for the country as a whole. The essence of Americanism is that it offers its opportunities and its freedoms equally to all. Sunday 5-19-46

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA)—The House last Friday, by a vote of 122 to 49, rejected an amendment to the 1947 District of Columbia appropriation bill, aimed at breaking up race segregation in public facilities in the Nation's Capital, including parks, hospitals, and the public school system.

Pittsburgh Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr., Democrat of New York, offered the amendment. It would have barred the use of funds carried in the bill to any agency of the District government which practices race segregation "in employment, facilities afforded, services performed, accommodations furnished, instructions or aid granted." Sat. 4-13-46

As soon as the amendment was read, Representative John E. Rankin, Democrat of Mississippi, leader of the "white trash bloc" in the House, made the point of order that the amendment was not germane and constituted legislation on an appropriation bill.

"This amendment, if adopted, would destroy the school system of the District of Columbia," Rankin cried. "It would stir up race hatred and bring about race trouble, the like of which nothing else has ever done in all the history of the District."

EDITOR'S NOTE—The action of Mr. Powell in bringing up the main issue of segregation in the District of Columbia is in line with the present campaign of The Pittsburgh Courier to abolish segregation in our Nation's Capital. A bill to grant equal rights to all citizens has been introduced by Representative McDonough of California and is now in the District Committee of the House for consideration.

COFFEE JOINS RANKIN IN PARLIAMENTARY MOVE

Representative John M. Coffee, Democrat of Washington, chairman of the House District of Columbia appropriations committee, who is regarded as a liberal, also made the point of order that the amendment incorporated a legislative provision in an appropriation bill in violation of the rules.

The further point of order that the amendment was a limitation on an appropriation bill without retrenching expenses was made by Representative Howard W. Smith, Democrat of Virginia.

Representative Vito Marcantonio, American-Labor, of New York, spoke against the point of order, contending that segregation doubled "the number of administrative offices, the number of facilities, and the expenditures thereby are increased" and the amendment would definitely be a saving to the Treasury. Sat-4-13-46

POWELL SPEAKS

Representative Aime J. Forand, Democrat of Rhode Islands, presiding, held that the amendment was a proper limitation and overruled the points of order.

Speaking in favor of his amendment, Mr. Powell told the House that he would not be allowed to play tennis here because certain parks are set aside for colored people.

A doctor here, to whom he was referred by a New York specialist, Mr. Powell said, could not treat him because there was no hospital to which he could take a colored patient.

What is done in the District of Columbia, Mr. Powell contended, "should be a reflection of the best that is in a democracy." He added that, "Unless it does reflect the best that is to be found in a democracy then we are not living up to the highest ideals of our Constitution and our Declaration of Independence."

MAKE DISTRICT SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY—POWELL

He asked the House to "make the District of Columbia at least safe for the kind of democracy that our men shed their blood for, and which is being denied here in the District of Columbia to the most loyal element of this democracy." Sat 4-13-46

Referring to the jim-crow hospital he has prevailed upon General Omar N. Bradley, Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, to build in Mississippi, Rankin said "Some Communist Negroes from some of the northeastern States came down here, with some other Communists who were not Negroes and protested against it with the Negroes in the State of Mississippi begging for it."

Rankin said "These Communists want to force them into white hospitals, just as they are trying to force Negroes into the white schools here in Washington by this amendment, even though it would deprive the Negro doctors and Negro nurses of the opportunity of serving their own ex-servicemen."

"There could be no quicker way of stirring up trouble between the races not only in the District of Columbia, but all over this Nation," said Representative W. R. Poage, Democrat, of Texas, "than to pass this kind of legislation."

DOMESTIC FASCISTS INCITE RACE RIOTS

"The District of Columbia, I submit," said Mr. Marcantonio, "is still the Capital of all the United States. In the District of Columbia there are people from all parts of America and I submit that it is not asking too much that here in the District of Columbia we practice the fundamental precepts of democracy that we are asking all of the world to practice at this time."

As to the cry of race riots, Mr. Marcantonio said, "The denial of equality and equal opportunity is the cause of race disturbances," adding, "Remove the cause—segregation and discrimination—and you solve the problem of race relations."

Mr. Marcantonio said "Race riots are incited by domestic Fascists and advocates of white supremacy."

Noting that the minds of the members of the House were already made up, Representative Hugh De Lacy, Democrat, of Washington, suggested, "Let us put the children together under the right kind of supervision, intelligent, trained people, with understanding and tolerance in their hearts, and let our Americans grow up together in understanding and common sympathy." Sat 4-13-46

DE LACY IN VIGOROUS DEFENSE OF MOTION

"What is the trouble in the District of Columbus now that brings about the necessity for trying to force white children to go to school with Negroes?" asked Representative Harold D. Cooley, Democrat, of North Carolina.

"The trouble is not in the District; the trouble is in the Nation," replied Mr. De Lacy. "The trouble is in the world.

"In this great Capital the statue of freedom that stands on the top of this building is a symbol to the people of the United States; it is a symbol to the world of freedom and equality.

"In my district, in my great State there is no discrimination in the schools, and there are no race riots."

"If there is no trouble in the District, why should we disrupt the customary system which has existed here through the years?" asked Mr. Cooley.

"Because as long as this dark blot of discrimination and inequality rests over the shadow of our United States, so long will our voice be stilled for justice and its edges blunted in the councils of the world," replied Mr. De Lacy.

DEPLORES RED HERRING

Representative Andrew J. Biemiller, Democrat, of Wisconsin, deplored that "again the red herring of Communism has been dragged across the floor."

He referred to the charge of Rankin that the Powell amendment was "inspired from Communist sources and that the FEPC is inspired from Moscow."

Rankin, wittingly or unwittingly, Mr. Biemiller said, has charged the City Council of Milwaukee with being Communist, it having passed within the past ten days by a unanimous vote a city FEPC law.

None of the members of that city council, he said, "by the wildest stretch of anyone's imagination, are members of the Communist party."

Mr. Biemiller said he believes firmly in equality of opportunity. "I feel that in the Capital of the United States we have a right to expect that the customs which prevail in the major part of the country should be the customs which prevail here."

SCHOOL FUNDS SLASHED

"The majority of Americans, I am convinced," he added, "are opposed to the discrimination that has been practiced in our Capital city." Sat 4-13-46

One of the things which prompted Mr. Powell to offer his amendment was the slashing of funds for additional teachers. School officials asked for salaries for thirty-six additional teaching positions—six in the white divisions and thirty in the colored divisions.

HOUSE VOTES DOWN SEGREGATION BAN

Birmingham Ala. Age-Herald

District of Columbia Practice Negro Member's Target

WASHINGTON, April 5—(AP)—The House today rejected legislation designed to ban racial segregation practices in the District of Columbia.

The proposal, by Rep. Powell, New York Negro Democrat, was defeated by a 122 to 49 standing vote.

It was presented in the form of an amendment to a District of Columbia appropriation bill which would prohibit use of funds for maintaining different establishments because of race, creed or national origin.

Opponents of the amendment attempted vainly to have it ruled out of order.

Lone spokesman in behalf of the amendment, aside from Powell, was Rep. Marcantonio (AL., N. Y.), who contended there is no law which establishes schools, hospitals and other institutions for whites and Negroes in the district. He said that the amendment would "affect only a practice" and therefore was a proper subject to be considered.

The vote came after an hour's heated debate, during which Southerners asserted Powell's plan would promote "race riots and killings." Backers of the proposal argued it should be adopted 'to show that we really believe in democracy.'

Sat. 4-6-46

Reversion *The Defender Chicago, Ill.*

GOOD race relations among employes of OPA in Washington have set a record. There never was anything like it in government. Colored and white workers mingle completely and easily at work, meals, play and in their homes.

The other day a colored girl—we'll skip her name—said to her white girl chum: "Let's have a drink somewhere where we can have a rum cola instead of just a coke." *Sat. 10-26-46*

"Good idea," agreed the white chum, and accordingly at noon they proceeded to a nearby "joint." Incidentally, the Census Building in which OPA is housed, displaced two square blocks of colored slums when it was erected a decade ago. Remaining slums still press in upon it.

Gaily the chums settled in a booth and the colored girl gave the order. The colored waitress after looking at the white girl suspiciously said: "We don't serve no white people in here."

Stunned, the girls called for the manager, who proved to be a large and unsmiling colored woman who reiterated: "We don't want no white folks in here."

Race battles were nothing new to the colored girl and this reversal of the usual situation stumped her only momentarily. She argued and demanded, but it was not until she declared the white girl was really colored, that the management gave in and they were served. The colored girl sipped her drink in triumph, but the white girl couldn't choke her's down, she was frightened and humiliated at the experience of being declared an "undesirable" for the first time in her life. She got up and fled.

Later, back at work, the colored girl upbraided her: "What did you have to go and run away for just when they served us, you make me sick." It was the end of a beautiful friendship.

Sequel—White friends of the white girl reported later that she had told her husband of the experience and his reaction was to join her in saying publicly: "We have never really liked niggers, anyhow!"

The Battle of Washington

Washington, D. C. is the most color-conscious and prejudiced capital of any world power. Although the city on the banks of the Potomac is the capital of the entire Nation, it is a typical Southern city, unaffected by Northern influence.

The city's racial policies—local, national and international—are determined by a small band of Southern bigots, many of whom have been raised to power by a campaign of racial hate. These Southerners have been given a free hand in shaping the Government's policies and practices, affecting Negroes and other darker peoples.

The Pittsburgh Courier makes these indictments . . . and will prove them in a series of articles exposing prejudice and discrimination in the Nation's capital. The Courier will make this expose' in an effort to stir to effective action the 250,000 Negroes in Washington; the 14,000,000 Negroes throughout the Nation . . . and all others who believe in justice and fair play, or have pride in the prestige and good name of their country.

It cannot be denied that every phase of the official life of Washington is tainted by color prejudice. Laws affecting international relations have been consistently prejudicial to darker peoples. Washington enacted the Japanese Exclusion Act while Japan was a friendly power. Immigration quotas are fixed to exclude darker peoples. This even applies to China, this country's Asiatic ally.

Diplomats from non-white countries are a constant source of uneasiness and embarrassment in Washington, D. C. South American countries, knowing the prejudice of the capital, will not send non-white diplomats to represent them.

Although Washington gives ample evidence of prejudice to non-white foreigners, her discrimination against them is mild compared to her contempt for her own citizens of non-white complexion.

Congress has not passed a law since the enactment of the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870, designed to lessen any of the inequalities under which Negroes suffer. The only order issued in Washington in the last seventy-five years, particularly intended to aid Negroes, was the Executive Order creating FEPC . . . and this weak wartime measure is now being killed by a Senate filibuster.

Negro citizens of the United States of America are insulted, maligned and blackguarded on the floor of Congress, and their foul-mouthed traducers are not even challenged.

It is not difficult to understand the discriminatory attitude of Washington toward national and international problems, when social and economic conditions in the District are known. What else could be expected from a city reeking with race hatred?

Race prejudice in the city of Washington indirectly affects Negroes everywhere, for it creates an atmosphere in which Senators and Congressmen live and work, which is bound to affect their opinions; particularly since most of these law-makers come to the capital either lukewarm or indifferent to the welfare of Negroes. THIS IS WHY PREJUDICE IN WASHINGTON IS OF MORE THAN LOCAL CONCERN.

Negroes are almost completely segregated in Washington, although they live on Federal land under Federal jurisdiction, where the enforcement of the Federal Constitutional guarantees are not hampered by "State rights."

Everywhere Negroes may go they are segregated and discriminated against, except in street cars, buses, Government buildings and some department stores. They are not accepted in theatres and hotels. Some stores will not accept their trade.

Property restrictions confine their living quarters to well-defined Negro district or ghettos, and within these borders all activities incident to living are carried on. Everything behind these "color walls" or "barriers" is inferior, inadequate or much too costly. Negroes leave their reservation for work, but if they attempt to invade public places, they are driven back to their Negro quarters by taunts, rebuffs and insults.

The extreme prejudice of Washington is directly traceable to the Federal administration of the local government. These affairs are administered by the District of Columbia Committees of the House and Senate. It is through this means that Southern Senators and Congressmen have dominated the practices and customs in Washington. These committees are now headed by two rabid Southerners (Bilbo of Mississippi and McMillan of South Carolina.)

Segregation in Wasington is of long standing. It is evident that even when the Republicans were in power, conditions were the same. It is further evident that Northern Democrats have surrendered to the Democratic South on the treatment of Negroes in Washington; both in the administration of the local government and in the enactment of the general laws.

They have apparently permitted all forms of Southern discrimination in Washington so that Southern Senators and Congressmen may be "at ease" in a congenial atmosphere of hate and racial persecution.

Negroes are the victims of Congressional log-rolling, and no one has disturbed these time-honored courtesies to the South. President Truman has had sufficient courage to appoint a Negro judge in New York and a Negro governor of the Virgin Islands, but he has refused to challenge Washington's racial antagonisms in backing a fight for Negro motormen and conductors. It is apparent that Negroes have been "sold" to the South by both major parties.

The only way to defeat Southern domination of Washington is to give the citizens of the District the right of franchise and local self-government, completely divorced from Congressional control.

The Pittsburgh Courier intends to throw the full weight of its fourteen editions throughout the Nation into this battle. We intend to marshal the full force of Negro public opinion and pressure to drive Southern influence across the Potomac.

THE DIE IS CAST and the BATTLE FOR WASHINGTON is on!

The battle to clear its name of the international stigma as the "most prejudiced world power capital!"

The battle to give Congress an environment conducive to fair and impartial legislation!

The battle to give 250,000 Negroes, living under the intimidation of the capital, a fuller life, free from the annoyances and wounds which prejudice daily inflicts!

The battle to make "Our Capital" a symbol commensurate with the dignity and honor of a DEMOCRATIC NATION . . . and a tolerant and acceptable place for all mankind.

TO THIS END WE PLEDGE ALL OUR RESOURCES AND OUR SACRED HONOR.

COURIER LAUNCHES CAMPAIGN TO BREAK SOUTHERN CONTROL

THE COURIER PROPOSES . . .

In order to rid Washington, D. C.—Capital of the Nation—of discrimination and segregation, The Pittsburgh Courier proposes first:

That all the citizens of the District of Columbia be once again given the right of franchise and self-government, with officials elected by ballot at the polls.

" . . . Conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created FREE and EQUAL . . ."

This historic utterance symbolizes Washington, D. C. . . . Capital of the United States . . . a vast sprawling metropolis on the banks of the Potomac River. Not only is Washington, D. C. symbolic as the citadel of democracy; it is one of the three important world capitals.

Within its confines rests the Capitol . . . the White House . . . the Department of Justice Building. Meeting here to guide the destinies of its people and to shape the policies which denote world leadership are U. S. Senators and Congressmen, cabinet members, and the heads of the far-flung Federal agencies which reach into every city, town, village and hamlet.

INTERNATIONAL DISGRACE

But this great city sands stripped of its role of world leadership, when confronted by the stigma of discrimination and segregation imposed upon its Negro population . . . a stigma which has reached the mammoth proportion of an international disgrace.

Ambassadors from other countries look on in amazement as the halls of Congress ring with deceitful mouthings about democracy, liberty and freedom for other peoples.

They view with scorn the hollow mockery of a capital that preaches the "brotherhood of man" and then practices vicious "class hatreds" based on color against over 200,000 of its citizens.

NO PLACE IN CAPITAL

This discrimination and segregation, akin to a cancer eating away at the heart of the Nation, has no place in the Nation's Capital.

The Courier cannot stand supinely by and witness the drowning of world hope for liberty and freedom in Washington's sea of prejudice.

The Courier cannot longer keep silent as it views the embarrass-

ICKES DID ATTEMPT TO CORRECT BIASED CONDITIONS IN CAPITAL

Pittsburgh Courier, Pa.

By RIC ROBERTS

In the important matter of recreation, public and private, colored citizens of Washington are being governed by white officials and capitalists who reflect no evidence of conscience with regard to human rights or human decency.

As in the realms of national and local government and the administration of the public schools, The Courier, this week, hopes to inundate its readers with the full flood of light on a salient fact: the governing whites deprive Negroes with the left hand of what they pretend to give them with the right.

Why? Why must this outrage outpour beyond the functions of government of the administration of public education, and contaminate the happy pastures of recreation?

Because Washington is a test of the democratic concept in this Nation, set down in a contagious and contaminated South so permeated with the demon disease of race hatred that the infections which warped and maimed Jefferson Davis and Alexander G. Stephens, eighty-six years ago, have been transmuted with undiminished toxic intensity to Theodore Bilbo, John Rankin and the rest of the Confederate heirs who now actualy control the reins of the National Government. 3-2-46

COMPLEXITY OF ILLS

On the basis of recreational facilities provided for colored citizens, Washington compares well with Atlanta, G..., or any other Southern municipality. In keeping with the Dixie tradition, officialdom alows no Negro to attain a policy-making position, although forsaking the strict Dixie code by naming Negroes to positions of some responsibility.

The Boxing Commission, as in any State, is staffed entirely by white men, and in the dearest tradition of Alabama or Mississippi or Texas, there are no Negro referees or physicians or promoters. Unlike the boxing bodies in Deep Dixie which are openly hostile to any threat to lily-whitism, the D. C. Boxing Commissoin pretends that it wishes to limit the scandal of a lily-white boxing policy, but, when cornered, as it was a few weeks ago, admits that it would not tell anybody who to use or not use in a ring show, just so long as physical standards and boxing regulations had been proved satisfactory."

AIDS WHITES FIRST

This suspicious procedure has made a derision of the colored citizens of the city, and served as aid and comfort to the enemies of the square deal for the Negro. The Boxing Commission, wallowing in wealth accumulated in the most part by brown fists, directs its excess funds for the purchase of boxing equipment to white colleges and clubs first. Instead of sending direct communications to the local YMCA, where nearly 100 per cent of local Negro fighters get their finishing touches before launching their careers, the Commission used the tricky newspaper-notice on a situation never before expereinced by colored boxing leaders in the city. Howard University received about $200 worth of equipment to help outfit her CIAA boxing team, which was commendable, but the boxers who make the grade in D. C. rings are never collegians. It was fine to make the award to Howard, but the Boys' Club and the YMCA are struggling institutions which needed even more than Howard.

TWO SWIMMING POOLS

More than 70,000 Negroes, a population comparable to that of a city the size of Asheville, N. C., are without swimming facilities in Northeast Washington. More than 25,000 in Southeast Washington must do with a pitifully inadequate wading-pool at Lincoln School. Swimming facilities at Banneker Recreation Center and at Francis Junior High of Georgetown, Va., are outmoded or inadequate. Hundreds and hundreds are forced to stand in lines during the sultry summer months, waiting their turn to enjoy the water at Banneker.

On a given day, at a specified time, no more than 750 Negro swimmers could enjoy this sport if every jim-crowed facility could be taxed to capacity. On the other hand, more than 10.000 whites ... find swimming enjoyment simultaneously in facilities arranged for them by District officials.

YOUNGSTERS DROWN

While such studied ideas about bias a[redacted] religiously followed by whi[redacted] more than 10,000 colored [redacted] of Anacostia have no swimming facilities, and no prospects for adding any in the immediate foreseeable future. In 1944, a total of six youngsters, all seeking swimming pleasures in the Anacostia River, were drowned; six lives that might have been saved if proper swimming facilities and regulations had been arranged. 3-2-46

Washingtonians view the resignation of Harold L. Ickes with quite some apprehension, remembering his unalterable stand with regard to threatened discrimination in Federally controlled parks and play areas here. Mr. Ickes, on more than one occasion, declared it to be rather singular that Negroes, although privileged to play golf on any course under his jurisdiction, seemed to prefer playing with and among colored citizens on their own course in Northeast Washington. He personally ordered the stationing of park police officers to protect the automobiles of Negro golfers who, upon returning from a round of golf, discovered sand in their carburetors or their tires punctured. Golfers, interested in the lighter and more inviting aspects of recreation and play, steered clear of the anxiety and discomforts contingent to play on the courses peopled by whites.

BOXING SITUATION

Negro boxers do well in Washington, but little appreciation or consideration abounds for the colored fan who lays his money on the line. No Negro fight promoter or handler of boxing may be expected to get very far if he rebels against a tight white control of the game in D. C. John Carter cannot get any of his fighters into Turner's Arena and thinks Uline Arena should be given the support of colored fans because colored boxers allegedly get better breaks there. 3-2-46

The Uline Arena, owned by Michael Uline, denies the sale of tickets to Negroes for his theatrical presentations like the Icapades, Water Follies, etc., but welcomes them with open arms for boxing events. Negro citizens resent the implication that they are welcome for boxing events but taboo for the more aesthetic presentations.

ment and humiliations to which Negroes are subjected in the Nation's Capital. Institutions of public service live by what they believe . . . they fight for what they believe is right.

The Courier believes the time has come to fight for what it believes to be right . . . a Capital free of segregation and discrimination.

Why do discrimination and segregation exist in our Nation's Capital? There are numerous answers, but the basic one deals with the question of control. Having no form of popular government, this city is controlled by the Senate and House District Committees.

Along with her age-old traditions and customs, the capital of the United States denies her people the right to vote their determination. Thus, the citizens of this great city are a VOTELESS PEOPLE.

And who controls these two powerful Congressional committees under whose direction the city is governed?

Chairman of the Senate District Committee is Senator Theodore (The Man) Bilbo of Mississippi, rabble-rousing, race-baiting, "white supremacy" advocate.

Chairman of the House District Committee will be Representative John L. McMillan of South Carolina. 2-9-46

DIXIE STATES RULE

And so . . Mississippi and South Carolina decide what the people of Washington, D. C. must have and can do. These examples of Southern oligarchy are in control of Washington, and by the rules of Congressional seniority, will remain in control unless:

1. **The Democratic Party forsakes the Seniority Rule.**
2. **Republicans are victorious in the next Presidential election.**
3. **Congress returns the Government of the District to the people.**

Supporters of the present form of government contend that it obviates any conflict of autonomy at our seat of government, that the present form of government guarantees necessary neutrality in the District.

Nothing, believes The Courier, could be farther from the truth. The present form of government has resulted in regional control . . . has given the South autonomy over the Capital. To the detriment of progressive government, the men who run the Senate and House District Committees have proved themselves incapable of forgetting the mores, customs and traditions of the sections they represent.

Oblivious of the desire of the people of Washington, these men from the poll-tax section of the South, form a wall of reaction which is best indicated by the way in which they have cast their votes on progressive issues facing Congrress.

They have voted against progressive legislation. They have fought against the will of the majority. And the citizens of Washington, without the right of franchise, are powerless to make themselves heard.

This travesty (denial of the right to vote) created in 1878 when Congress subverted popular government, violates the germ and principle of the issue which brought the United States into being.

DISEASE AND FILTH

As long as there is an America, neither age nor time can dim the memory of evils suffered under taxation without representation. Such an anachronism has left the people of the District hopelessly encumbered by disease, filth, deprivation.

Sickness, crime and death ride roughshod through the streets and alleys of the District. They leave under their hoofs a prostrate fourth of the District's population . . . her Negro Citizens. This we will prove in subsequent issues with facts gathered from the health records of the District.

CAPITAL SUFFERS

Washington, D. C. is the Capital of the Nation. But it suffers in comparison with New York, Cleveland, Columbus, Detroit, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco and other democratic cities. Its policy ties it in with Dixie . . . makes of its administration a mockery and a sham of that democracy it is supposed to exemplify.

And until the citizens of Washington are given the right of franchise, hope of abolishing the segregation and discrimination now existing, seems far, far away.

The population of the District of Columbia is greater (individually) than the population of the States of New Mexico, Vermont, Delaware, Arizona, Utah, North Dakota, Montana, Nevada, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Maine and Idaho. Yet, each of these States has the right of franchise, plus Senators and Representatives in Congress. 2-9-46

Last year the Federal Government taxed the residents of the District some $363,318,436 in individual and corporate income taxes. That sum was higher than that of twenty-eight States and two territories that have suffrage and representation.

And still the people of the District of Columbia are denied the right of franchise.

GI Girls Cold to Jim-Crow Beauty Contest

Afro American, Baltimore, Md. 2-9-46

WASHINGTON (NNPA). — A "prize" of a week's engagement at a night club has, to date, failed to lure even one Government girl into the jim-crow contest to select a colored and a white "Miss Valentine" among workers in the departmental service, it was learned this week.

Sponsored by Musicians

The Washington Society of Musicians and Entertainers is sponsoring the two contests. The finals for colored contestants will be held at the Lincoln Colonnade and, for white, at the Shoreham Hotel.

Requirements for entrance are that the individuals entering be shapely and possess some type of talent. They are to get as many endorsements as possible and the ten girls for each contest getting the largest number will be determined by audience applause in appreciation of the talent displayed.

There is a question of whether the War Department is sanctioning the contests. 2-9-46

Counselors Turn Down Offer

Mrs. Nancy Lovell and Mrs. Mildred Vernon, recreation counselors in the War Department, refused to work on the committee for the jim crow affairs.

Negro Protests Banning Of White Man at Dance

By The United Press.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 7—Tomlinson D. Todd, president of the Institute on Race Relations, protested today against the exclusion of a white man from a public dance attended by Negroes. 1-8-46

Mr. Todd, who is a Negro, identified the white man as Josona Quantian, a musician, of 117 West Thirty-fourth Strret, New York, who, he said, came to the hall to hear Duke Ellington's band.

The dance was held at Turner's Arena, but Mr. Todd said that he understood the management of the hall was not the sponsor of the affair. He added:

"Quantian was refused admission because he was white. Discrimination in the nation's capital must go. Things of this sort do not conform with our professed ideals of democracy."

Bureau Slashed After Bias Report

Afro-American, Baltimore, Md.

WASHINGTON (ANP). — For inquiring into the question of race relations in Southern States, the Agricultural Economic Bureau was penalized almost a half-million dollars last week by the House, which lopped $485,541 from a recommended appropriation of $1,480,150.

Restrictions on the bureau's activities were invoked after Southern members of the House Appropriations Subcommittee had browbeaten H. R. Tolley, chief of the bureau, during hearings on the Agriculture Department's 1947 appropriations. 3-30-46

Report Angers Southerners

The wrath of Southern members of the appropriations committee was provoked by a report concerning Coahoma County, Miss., made to Dr. Tolley by staff members, intended for use by officials of the Agriculture Department.

The report stated, "At present the militant leadership in the North is making its opinion felt on the rural people of Coahoma County, for they subscribe to Northern newspapers which do not hesitate to emphasize injustices done members of their group."

Judge Malcolm C. Tarver, committee chairman, declared the statement an indictment of the people of Coahoma County and of the South who, he said, treat colored people with "sympathy and understanding." 3-30-46

Rebukes Agitators

Judge Tarver was particularly critical of the report because it stressed "the importance of militant Northern leadership, which is a most unfortunate thing and which is doing a greater injury to the South than anything else."

Hates Revelation

The report also stated facts about discrimination in the schools of Clarksdale, Miss., which moved Judge Tarver to retort that it was not the Agriculture Bureau's business to probe the education system, "correct or incorrect."

In cutting the Agricultural Economic Bureau's budget by such a huge figure, the House virtually restricts its activities to the gathering and disseminating facts about agriculture. The Senate has yet to make an appropriation.

BOSTON, MASS.
Christian Science Monitor
Cir. D. 141,442
APR 25 1946

Three Steps Mark Negro Rise on Nation's Social Ladder

By Richard L. Strout

Staff Correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON, April 25 —The difficult and delicate American problem of the social relationship of white and Negro races has produced recent news in three directions.

1. The Daughters of the American Revolution, following requests by Representative Clare Boothe Luce (R) of Connecticut, yesterday relaxed its position on the appearance of Negro artists in D. A. R. Constitution Hall, here, and will permit the Tuskegee Institute Choir to sing in a benefit performance, June 3.

2. The American Association for Adult Education, with a general membership, unanimously has elected as its President Dr. Alain Leroy Locke, Harvard graduate, Rhodes Scholar, and Negro Professor of Philosophy at Howard University, of this city. Dr. Locke is now serving as visiting Professor of Philosophy at the University of Wisconsin.

3. The University of Vermont Chapter of Alpha Xi Delta Sorority, a national undergraduate group, has pledged Crystal Malone, of this city, daughter of Mrs. Lillian Skinker Malone, Negro principal of an elementary school here, as a member, after written approval was obtained from the mothers of the 18 members of the Vermont Sorority. A controversy has been aroused by this step, with Mrs. Beverly Robinson of this city, National President of the Sorority, placing the Vermont Chapter on "probation" for a year. She is quoted as characterizing the incident as "unfortunate," adding "we have so many southern chapters, you know."

The fact that all three latest instances of the complicated problem of racial relationships at the higher social level have a Washington angle is significant in one respect. The District of Columbia is the last large eastern city above the Mason and Dixon Line. There are separate schools and colleges for Negroes, but the color line is not drawn on busses and utilities as it is just across the Potomac River. Many of the problems that have to be worked out arise in Washington as the meeting place of the North and the South.

Thus the D. A. R. has had continual problems in how to treat the use of its commodious Constitution Hall, which is the best-equipped convention hall in the city. Because Negroes have made great progress in the field of music, the use of this hall has come to symbolize many of the American problems relating to racial relationships at the higher social level.

D. A. R. officers pointed out that use of Constitution Hall still will be on a discretionary basis, and that donating the hall, as distinct from renting it, does not violate a clause inserted in the D. A. R. constitution in 1931 after a concert by the Hampden Institute Choir in 1931. The real battle, it is said here, will come over the proposal to remove that clause, to be taken up at a D. A. R. convention next month at Atlantic City, N. J.

In 1939, the D. A. R. refused Marian Anderson, Negro singer, thought by some to have the world's outstanding contralto voice, use of the hall, causing Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt to drop D. A. R. membership in protest, and to help Miss Anderson to sing on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial.

On Jan. 7, 1943, however, Miss Anderson was permitted to sing at the hall at a war benefit concert for China relief, the condition being imposed that there would be "no racial segregation in seating arrangements" and that her appearance did not "constitute a precedent."

Last October, the D. A. R. refused the hall to Hazel Scott, pianist-singer wife of Representative Adam C. Powell, Jr., (D) Negro Congressman from New York City. This refusal brought protests from President and Mrs. Truman.

Representative Luce sent a telegram to Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge, Athens, Ga., D. A. R. President-General, requesting that the hall be opened to the Tuskegee group. Mrs. Luce, a member of the D. A. R., wrote in behalf of the "D. A. R. Committee Against Racial Discrimination in Constitution Hall."

Now the Choir has been invited to use the hall. More than that, both the hall and services of all employees are being donated, free of charge, the funds raised going to the United Negro College Fund.

ESCANABA, MICH.
PRESS
Cir. D. 8,216 — S. 8,345
APR 28 1946

Change of Heart

THE Daughters of the American Revolution apparently have changed their policy with regard to the rental of Constitution Hall for concerts by Negro musicians.

A few years ago, the large auditorium in the national capital was denied to the famous Negro singer, Marian Anderson, and the incident aroused a national furore that put the well-known patriotic organization in a bad light. Of all places, a hall named for the American Constitution should be the one to draw the color line.

It is encouraging to learn, however, that the D. A. R. decided to amend its past wrongs by opening Constitution Hall for a concert by the famous Tuskegee Institute Choir on June 3. It may be regarded as one more step toward breaking down the racial discrimination that has long existed in this country.

In Escanaba last Wednesday night, Paul Robeson, the great Negro singer, thrilled a large crowd of music lovers with his voice. But those who had the opportunity to talk with Mr. Robeson before and after the concert discovered he is more than a famous singer. He is also a scholar and a ardent champion of human rights. He is, in plain words, a great American.

BOSTON, MASS.
HERALD
APR 25 1946

DAR RELENTS, NEGRO CHOIR ALLOWED FREE USE OF HALL

WASHINGTON, April 24 (AP)—The Daughters of the American Revolution today let down the bars which had kept Negro artists from appearing in its Constitution Hall here in the past and announced that the Tuskegee Institute choir would sing there June 3.

The use of the hall was granted without charge for the concert. The proceeds will go to the United Negro College Fund.

Whether the DAR action in this case represents a reversal of previous policy was not disclosed. A statement by Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge, president general, said, "This is a most worthy undertaking and we will help in every way to make it a splendid financial success."

Rep. Luce (R., Ct.) recently called upon the DAR to make the hall available for the benefit. Mrs. Talmadge replied that the Tuskegee request was being considered and that Mrs. Luce's letter would not affect the decision.

The DAR announcement today said Mrs. Talmadge placed the matter before the executive committee members by wire, urging that the invitation be authorized, and all the members agreed. The invitation then was issued and accepted.

CAMDEN, N. J.
POST
Circ. D. 15,967
APR 26 1946

Change of Heart in DAR?

Have the Daughters of the American Revolution decided to practice real Americanism?

Too long the society's Constitution Hall in Washington, and consequently the DAR, have been a symbol of racial intolerance.

The DAR has invited the Tuskegee (Ala.) Institute Choir to sing at the hall on June 3. It is a Negro organization

Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge, of Athens, Ga., DAR president general, urged the society's executive committee to approve the invitation. The members complied unanimously.

That is encouraging. However, the engagement of the Negro choir does not reverse the policy enforced since 1932 of permitting "white artists only" when Constitution Hall is leased for a commercial performance.

For the Tuskegee choir is not renting the hall. Its use is being given without charge, and the proceeds will go to the United Negro College Funds. A gracious gesture.

When Marian Anderson, great Negro contralto barred in 1939 from the hall, appeared there on a war benefit in 1942, the DAR stated: "No appearance of any artist, attraction or event ever can be considered as a precedent insofar as future engagements in Constitution Hall are concerned."

Negroes were subsequently banned from leasing the hall.

Maybe now the DAR has had a change of heart. The proof will be when it is as willing to deal with Negro artists on a strictly business basis as it is in arranging concerts for fund-raising campaigns.

POTTSVILLE, PA.
JOURNAL
Cir. D. 10,190
MAY 11 1946

ELSA MAXWELL'S Particles

WEEKEND ROUNDUP

I went to a very nice reception given by the French Ambassador and his wife at the Hotel Pierre for the other delegates of the UN Council. All the eleven delegates were there except Brazil's Dr. Velloso, whose face had been badly cut in a taxi accident on his way to Hunter College.

It seems to me that the City of New York could provide adequate transportation for these distinguished delegates from 51 countries. In San Francisco, they were provided with official cars and attendants arranged by the civic administration. If New York

had done this, perhaps Dr. Velloso might have been spared that crash with the resultant damage to his nose and face. Dr. Velloso, his nose all done up in plaster, was lugubrious but funny when he commented, "Oh, but zat ees nozing—you should see my poor legs." I didn't investigate, but I maintain the city should at least pay for the plaster.

The Women's Committee for Entertaining the Delegates—Mrs. Winthrop Aldrich, Mrs. George Baker, Mrs. Ogden Mills and Mrs. Edgar Leonard have done much better. They are arranging, with great care and discrimination, a beautiful ball to be given at the Waldorf Astoria. But all the ladies giving dinners that night have asked to have Mr. Gromyko as their guest.

* * * * *

I saw Mr. Gromyko the other day at Dr. Lange's party at the Hotel Roosevelt, and I told him I had won $15 when I bet three different people that he would not walk out on the meeting, or even vote "no" on the Franco resolution at Hunter College. "You bet on me before you knew the outcome? And did you get paid?" he asked, his eyes twinkling. "I did," I replied. "Well, what a pity you didn't bet $500,000," he added, "you would then have been a capitalist." "Well, if I had I would have had to give a great deal to the government, and besides if you can earn a living it will be safer than to be a capitalist," I told him. Though I don't object to capitalists in the least.

* * * * *

I joined Claire Booth Luce's table the other day at lunch. She is such an irresistible attraction, particularly since she smacked down on the D. A. R.'s refusal to admit the Tuskegee Institute Choir from the great George Washington Carver's own university to Constitution Hall. The D. A. R. leaders are trying to put over the idea now that Claire had nothing to do with it, but she had everything to do with it, and I highly commend her. I said to Claire, "Do you feel a draft here?" "No," she replied, "I am quite comfortable." "No courrant d'air?" I asked solicitously. "I mean a senatorial draft.' "Oh, you mean will I run if I am drafted?" she asked. "Well who can say, and perhaps I won't be drafted?" Clair is naive. "Claire," I said, "Why shouldn't you run, if your party should get in in 1948, you would be in an enviable position."

Well, Alan Valentine, President of Rochester College, was lunching with Mrs. Luce and Miss Margaret Case. Mr. Valentine, who looks more like a football coach than a president of a college, laughed and said, "Don't you think four years is a long time to spend in Washington?" Claire said, "I have spent the best years of Harry Luce's life in Congress."

Mr. Valentine suggested, "Miss Maxwell, I know you have a deep interest in the veterans' housing problem." "Goodness, yes," I replied, "there's nothing more important than to see that our men who fought so bravely during the war, have comfortable places in which to live." "Well," he said, "I think the veterans should take over all the space now given to outdoor advertising. Our highways all through the most beautiful parts of the country are lined with tremendous billboards occupying valuable and desirable land which could be used for housing. Why not give it to them to erect little homes, instead of having to thumb their way across the country trying to find a place to live.

I suppose there will be a lot of squawks over the suggestion, but I for one think it is a good one.

* * * * *

Mrs. Evalyn Walsh McLean, whose home is the unofficial White House in Washington, gave a dinner for 100 guests to honor Viscount and Lady Halifax, the retiring British Ambassador and his wife. The Netherlands Ambassador, Dr. Loudon and his wife came, the Swiss Ambassador and the French Ambassadress, beautiful Mme. Bonnet also of the diplomatic world came. Most of the Cabinet were present—the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Fred Vinson, Secretary of Labor, Mr. Schwellenbach, Secretary of Agriculture, Clinton Anderson and Mrs. Anderson and Attorney General Tom Clark and pretty Mrs. Clark, all deeply regretful to see the Halifaxes depart.

No man ever worked under more difficult conditions than Halifax. He is a man of fine character and strong religious feeling along with great personal dignity, yet he can take it on the chin better than most people.

Lady Halifax is also very charming and these two have done more than any other people to cement the warm ties of Anglo-American friendship. I remember lunching once with Lady Halifax in the Embassy—a particularly gay and charming lunch. As I left, Ian Malcolm, who accompanied me to the door said that Lady Halifax had just lost her son in the war. She is indeed a splendid woman and a delightful friend.

BRIDGEPORT, CONN.
TELEGRAM
Circ. D. 14,338

APR 29 1946

THE D.A.R. RELENTS
(Hartford Courant)

It is a heartening indication of a response to aroused public opinion that Constitution Hall in Washington is to be host this June to the Tuskegee Institute Choir. Previous denials of the hall, owned by the Daughters of the American Revolution, to Marian Anderson, Negro pianist, had quite properly aroused a storm of criticism. The opposition to this discriminatory policy on the part of the organization has been led by Connecticut's own Clare Booth Luce, a member herself, who took prompt action when Tuskegee Institute first sought permission to use the hall, urging the D.A.R. president that the request be granted "lest once more D.A.R.'s all over the country are forced to apologize."

On the previous occasions when the controversy arose over the appearance of Negro artists, officials of the D.A.R.'s national committee pointed to a provision in the regulations of the hall restricting its use to the white artists only. Now that nationwide attention has been focussed on the matter, however, it has pertinently been discovered that this restriction applies only to commercial performances, and that this obstacle can readily be overcome by allowing the choir the use of the hall and the services of the employees free of charge. The concert is to honor Booker T. Washington, founder of Tuskegee, and all proceeds are to go to the United Negro College Fund.

Spurred on by the widespread displeasure with the previous indefensible decisions against allowing Negroes to appear, and by Mrs. Luce's insistent championing of a more broad-minded attitude, the national executive committee voted unanimously in favor of welcoming the choir, and furnishing the hall free. This enlightened decision is the more to be welcomed because it represents such a sharp reversal of earlier policy. If the D.A.R. will continue to open the doors of Constitution Hall for benefit concerts by deserving artists of any race, it will gain greatly in the esteem of the American people as a whole. At least part of the stigma of its earlier discrimination has been removed.

R for Reaction

Daily Worker

IT USED to be said that fascism, when and if it comes to America, will do so in the guise of "Americanism."

The best example is the Wood-Rankin Un-American Committee. New York, N. Y.

Now we have another sample in the Daughters of the American Revolution arrogant insistence that Constitution Hall, the largest hall in the nation's capital, be kept under Jimcrow law.

But the DAR's action is not the most alarming aspect of the affair. Monday

What is amazing and shameful is that not a single leading public figure has spoken up against this disgrace

The battle has been left to a reactionary Congresswoman who is more interested in obtaining publicity than in winning the fight. 6-3-46

The situation cannot be left as it is.

It is time to arouse popular indignation against this un-American practice in the capital of America.

WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.
REPORTER-DISPATCH
Circ. D. 12,393

APR 30 1946

City DAR Votes Full Approval Of Lifting Ban On National Hall

Unanimous approval of the decision of the Daughters of the American Revolution to open Constitution Hall in Washington, D. C., to a Tuskegee Institute choir cnocert was voted by the White Plains Chapter, DAR, yesterday at a meeting in the home of Mrs. Frank B. Cuff, 330 Ridgeway.

The motion, made by Mrs. Cuff, nominee for regent of the city group, also expressed wholehearted approval of the national board's proposal to absorb all incidental expenses of the concert so that the entire proceeds may go to the Negro college's fund.

Following the business meeting, conducted by Mrs. Ivan T. Johnson, the chapter celebrated its 41st birthday with a musical program and tea. Guests of honor were a group of state officers of the DAR, headed by Miss Edla Gibson of Buffalo, New York State regent, and Mrs. James Grant of Bronxville, state vice regent, and regents from the Westchester County chapters.

Virginia Arnold Ball, pianist, of Scarsdale, presented a program of piano selections which included Chopin's Preludes in A Major, F Major, B Flat Major and B Flat Minor.

Other Chopin compositions played by Mrs. Ball were Nocturne in F Sharp Major and Fantasy Impromptu. She also played Ravel's Jeux D'eau, Clair de Lune by Debussy, Moto Perpetual by Pauleuc and Etude Patetico in D Sharp Minor by Scriabine.

Mrs. Robert P. Smith, Mrs. John J. Hanselman and Mrs. Jules A. Vuilleumier pourec at the tea, which featured a birthday cake. Decorations wer in blue and white, the DAR colors.

Election of officers will take place at the next meeting of the chapter May 27 at 2 P. M. in the home of Miss Mildred Weed, North Broadway.

During the week of May 20, delegates from the chapter will attend the 55th Continental Conference of the DAR in Atlantic City.

49 1946

D. C. (DAR)

Daughters of Asinine Racism

By their arrogant refusal to rescind their "white artists only" policy for Constitution Hall in Washington, the Daughters of Asinine Racism (DAR), erroneously called Daughters of the American Revolution, should win, hands down, any and all awards for bigotry.

Assembled at Atlantic City last week, these reactionaries not only seized upon the occasion to administer a rebuke to Congresswoman Clare Boothe Luce and her Committee Against Race Discrimination in the Use of Constitution Hall, but they had the unmitigated gall to pass a resolution calling upon all chapters "to undertake a campaign of education toward better understanding of the American principles of government."

Charity begins at home.

The lukewarm attitude of some members, plus the blind intolerance of the others, made the fight put up by Mrs. Luce and her handful of progressives woefully one-sided. They lost, it is true, but in so doing they performed a valuable service to the rest of the nation.

They exposed, once and for all, this bunch of phony patriots in their true light. Like the Bilbos, Rankins and Eastlands they have disgraced the nation and the descendants of Crispus Attucks, Peter Salem and Samuel Poor who shed their blood in the American Revolution that all men might be free.

Luckily, the Old Guard of the DAR will eventually wither and decay. There's nothing a few funerals can't cure.

SAINT LOUIS, MO.
STAR-TIMES
Circ. D. 158,907

APR 25 1946

Decision Was Unanimous

D. A. R. Waives Negro Ban, Invites Choir To Rent Hall

WASHINGTON, April 25.—(UP)—Daughters of the American Revolution, waiving a long-standing ban against Negro artists, today invited the Tuskegee Institute choir to sing in the D. A. R.-owned Constitution Hall June 3.

Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge of Athens, Ga., D. A. R. president-general, announced that the organization's executive committee agreed unanimously to permit the Negro singers to appear in the hall in a benefit for the United Negro College fund.

The D. A. R.'s previous refusals to permit Negro artists to perform at Constitution Hall—largest auditorium in Washington—had embroiled it in numerous controversies. Marian Anderson and Hazel Scott were among entertainers refused use of the hall.

Rebuff D. A. R.

NEW YORK, N. Y.—(Calvin's Nws Service)—Two American girls, Florence Kauffman and Betty Goldberg, top ranking seniors at Seward High School, are product today of having refused medals from the Daughter of American Revolution than from any of their other achievements.

"I refuse to accept anything from an organization that discriminates like the D. A. R.," said Florence who is valedictorian of her class with a 96 average.

Exclaimed, Bettyt: "I prouder to refuse the medal than I would be to accept it. After all, we have all races in our school and we have practiced tolerance. We get along together fine, so why should I do anything to recognize the D. A. R., which discriminates against Negroes especially?" The girls give much of the credit for their tolerance to their history teacher.

CAMDEN, N. J.
COURIER
Circ. D. 65,481

MAY 21 1946

DAR HEAD DEFENDS ITS RACIAL POLICIES

Charges 'Sinister Forces' Are Seeking to Wreck Organization

Atlantic City, May 21 (UP)—Mrs. Julia Y. Talmadge, president general of the Daughters of the American Revolution, charged last night the "same sinister forces which have for years been seeking to destroy our institutions of government have also levelled their guns on the DAR."

At the same time, Mrs. Talmadge defended the general policy of the DAR in barring Negro artists from appearing in Washington's Constitution Hall. Thus, she took sharp issue with the "DAR committee against racial discrimination," of which Rep. Clare Boothe Luce (R., Conn.), is a member. She said.

"... I would remind you that in Washington there are separate schools for the white and colored races, separate playgrounds, separate halls and theatres, restaurants and other meeting places.

"These customs were carefully worked out as best suited to existing conditions and conducive to the greatest happiness and peace for all."

Okays Tuskegee Concert

However, Mrs. Talmadge pointed out the DAR had given the Tuskegee Institute's choir access to Constitution Hall on the night of June 3. This action, she contended, was taken without yielding to the "racial discrimination" committee.

She declared the United Negro College fund, for which the Tuskegee performance is to be staged, "is to be used for aid to Negro schools and not mixed schools ..." She added:

"That is the sort of education that should be encouraged, applauded and assisted."

Wars on Radicals

Expanding on her charges against "sinister forces," the president general called for a finish fight against what she termed "radicals" who are "seeking to destroy" the "liberty" of the United States.

Urging that the nation retain a powerful Army, Navy and Air Force to insure its security, Mrs. Talmadge said:

"I call upon every DAR member to fight for adequate defense as never before. That means military training to secure a powerful Army and Navy, an Air Force superior to any nation and reserves of material to guarantee safety against any attack.

"I call upon DAR members to strike at Communists, Pacifists, Fascists and radicals who are seeking to destroy the foundations of our liberty by causing strife and discord, and by subtle propaganda are aiming to discredit and demoralize our economic and social life."

Earlier, Maj. Gen. Ray E. Porter told the convention three requisites for the military security of the United States are the effective maintenance of a world-wide intelligence service, a supported program of scientific research, and "large forces of men."

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.
CHRONICLE
Circ. D. 118,830 - S. 204,456

APR 25 1946

DAR Opens Its Hall to Negro Choir

WASHINGTON, April 24 (UP)—The Daughters of the American Revolution tonight reversed its position on the appearance of Negro artists in their Constitution Hall by inviting the Tuskegee, Ala., Institute choir to sing there on June 3.

Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge, Athens, Ga., DAR president general, announced the invitation was extended by unanimous vote of the organization's executive committee. Dr. F. D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee, "promptly accepted," she said.

The concert, in honor of Booker T. Washington, Tuskegee founder, will mark a departure from earlier DAR practice of barring colored artists, including Singer Marian Anderson and Pianist Hazel Scott from the hall.

Earlier this month Representative Clare Boothe Luce (R., Conn.) sent a telegram to Mrs. Talmadge requesting the hall be opened to the Tuskegee group. Mrs. Talmadge replied that the Tuskegee request was already under consideration.

Mrs. Talmadge said she had urged the executive committee that the invitation be authorized at once. All of the replies were favorable and declared the use of Constitution Hall should be "entirely without cost."

Proceeds of the concert will be used for the United Negro College Fund.

DAR Tempest

The Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution has 148,384 members in 3,000 chapters throughout the country. The chief requisite for membership is the ability to prove direct descent from a man who fought in the American Revolution on the American side. Since 1932, the DAR which owns Constitution Hall in Washington, has rented out the hall and its 4,000-capacity auditorium with the provision that "white artists only" shall appear there. Twice this color ban has plunged the DAR into controversy—in 1939, when the organization refused to permit Marian Anderson, Negro contralto, to sing in the hall, again last October when it refused Hazel Scott, Negro concert pianist.

Two months ago sixteen DAR's under the guidance of Representative Clare Boothe Luce of Connecticut formed the Committee Against Racial Discrimination in Constitution Hall to campaign for deletion of the "white artists only" clause. When the all-Negro choir of Tuskegee Institute requested permission to appear in the hall's auditorium, Mrs. Luce and the committee wired DAR headquarters asking them to open the auditorium's doors to the choir. Subsequently, the DAR voted to permit the choir to use the hall.

At the fifty-fifth annual congress of the DAR, last week, Mrs. E. C. Denny Vann of the anti-discrimination committee introduced a resolution to delete the "white artists only" clause. Hostility toward both the resolution and the committee was so clear that Mrs. Vann withdrew her resolution after stating that the committee would continue its work. The congress, however, had other ideas. With only one dissenting vote, DAR delegates approved a resolution ordering the committee's "immediate dissolution" and forbidding the use of the terms "DAR" and "Constitution Hall" by any person or groups of persons without express consent. (Just before this, a committee had been appointed to review the entire procedure with regard to renting Constitution Hall.)

One of the DAR's honorary president generals explained its action thus: "When a person who has never been to a DAR meeting in her life [Mrs. Luce has not been active] forms a group of dissidents, they don't even rate. Down the hatch! Into the ashcan!" Committee members said they intended to continue their work for the lifting of the discriminatory ban.

D.A.R. ROW BLAME GIVEN MRS. LUCE

BY JAMES P. HACKETT

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., May 22—(P)—A D. A. R. official today blamed Rep. Clare Boothe Luce (R., Conn.) for causing a row at the society's 55th Continental Congress over the "white artists only" clause in Constitution Hall rental contracts and said if she had not injected herself into the matter it would have been settled quietly.

"Personally, I think its an awkward clause and I think it could be reworded more diplomatically," Mrs. Grace L. H. Brosseau, of Greenwich, Conn., national chairman of the Daughters of the American Revolution resolutions committee told reporters.

The Congress has ordered dissolution of a 17-woman "committee against racial discrimination in the use of Constitution Hall," headed by Mrs. Luce. The committee had sought deletion of the rental contract phrase after the D. A. R. refused Negro pianist Hazel Scott permission to use the hall for a concert last Fall.

"If Clare Luce had not injected herself into this, it would have been settled long ago," Mrs. Brosseau said. "The board would have acted quietly on it, if it had come from a veteran member, but the national board is not going to be dictated to by a woman who has not even

attended a D. A. R. meeting."

Mrs. Brosseau said "We have had rows in the D. A. R. before, but this isn't a racial discrimination issue—it's a matter of D. A. R. policy."

Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge, of Athens, Ga., president general of the D. A. R., told reporters "this matter has been given over to a special committee which will report its findings later to the national board."

Mrs. Brosseau's resolutions committee, failed to bring to the floor today a resolution calling for deletion of the "white artists only" phrase which had been submitted by the Polly Wyckoff Chapter of Northern New Jersey, for which Mrs. E. C. Denny Vann, of Leonia, N. J., is floor spokesman.

Mrs. Vann said if the Wyckoff chapter resolution is not brought out for action tomorrow she probably would introduce it from the floor. *Thurs. 5-2-46*

DAR to Ignore JC Resolution

Afro American

Baltimore, Md.

ATLANTIC CITY—The resolutions committee of the Daughters of the American Revolution will not introduce the resolution urging that the "white artists only" clause be deleted from the lease of Constitution Hall in Washington during the convention, according to a statement released by Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge, DAR president, last week. *5-25-46*

The resolution had been submitted by the Committee Against Racial Discrimination in Constitution Hall for action by the national body during its 55th annual session which opened on Monday.

After forwarding its request to the DAR subcommittee, the anti-bias organization, composed of 16 DAR members, including Rep. Clare Boothe Luce, and several outsiders, issued a statement indicating its stand on the matter.

Possible Opposition

Speaking for the group, Dr. Maenna Cheserton-Mangle, who was selected secretary because she was not affiliated with the DAR, expressed fear that the resolution might be tabled.

Admitting that there are many loopholes which opponents might use, she added, "We feel, however, that there are a majority of women there who will be in favor of the resolution," and pointed to the number of chapters which had requested the deletion. *5-25-46*

Fear of Public Opinion

In addition, she asserted that public opinion itself is strong and stated that fear of reaction by the public was the only reason that the DAR invited the Tuskegee choir to sing at the auditorium in June.

The committee, which Mrs. Talmadge in her release to the press called "unconstitutional and illegal," had planned to take action if permission were not granted

the choir. *Sat*

"Iron Curtain" Drawn

Declaring further that a "hush-hush policy" has been invoked, the committee charged that Mrs. Talmadge had sought to drop "an iron curtain" between the DAR and the public, by requesting the 3,000 chapters not to discuss the issue in public.

"This undemocratic procedure has prevented the rank and file from finding out not only how the public felt about their leadership's attitudes but also has had the effect of preventing those who disagreed with the leadership from getting in touch with another to resist it," the group added.

DAR Opportunity

Post

One can react only with dismay to the resolution adopted by the DAR Continental Congress ordering immediate dissolution of the "DAR Committee Against Racial Discrimination in the Use of Constitution Hall." Representative Clare Boothe Luce, who headed the committee, has been endeavoring to mobilize sentiment within the DAR for elimination of the "white artists only" clause in rental contracts for Constitution Hall. We should think, if the organization is at all democratically constituted, that she has every right to do this. Yet Mrs. Talmadge indignantly called her the leader of a "rebellious group seeking to force a change in our rules." "Rebellious" is a strange taunt from a daughter of revolution. *5-22-46 Wed.*

If it be rebellion that Mrs. Luce is leading, it is rebellion of a very constructive sort. There must have been many in the DAR, as there were many throughout the Nation, who deplored the refusal last fall to permit Miss Hazel Scott to use Constitution Hall for a recital. The refusal, based entirely on Miss Scott's race and color, was an affront to the essential American principles which it is the stated purpose of the DAR to uphold. It did grievous injury to the organization's prestige and called into serious question the tax exemption enjoyed by Constitution Hall.

In seeking to remove this blot from the DAR record, Mrs. Luce displays a devotion at once to democratic ideals and to the organization of which she is a distinguished member. Only through this kind of rebellion against an ugly and un-American intolerance can the DAR regain public esteem.

Washington, D.C.

Calling Revolution Daughters

Amsterdam News

The strident Daughters of the American Revolution have wound up their fish-wives screech fest at Atlantic City where they gave as fine a demonstration of what our forefathers did not die for as has come down the pike recently. They back the "lily-white" Constitution Hall policy, and screamed down the attempt of Mrs. Clare Booth Luce's Committee to get the ladies to talk the matter over in the name of sweet reasonableness.

Mrs. Luce

These backward ladies need to read history. *Sat. 6-8-46*

There were over 5,000 Negroes who fought with the Revolutionary army in the days of 1776. Their daughters ought to have as much say as anybody else in that female confab.

So we would like to see some of the Negroes Daughters of the American Revolution come to the fore and ask their sisters in history wherefore they get in the way of selling out the American Revolution to the South that lost the Civil War. *New York.*

Victory for Reaction

Courier

The Daughters of the American Revolution (1776 brand) have fought the Battle of Atlantic City and reaction has emerged victorious.

The main business before the convention of the "patriotic" organization was disposing of the plea of an enlightened minority to eliminate the "for white artists only" clause from rental contracts for the organization's Constitution Hall in Washington, D. C.

On the surface that appeared to be a very small matter, in view of the fact that similar auditoriums throughout the country, even in the deep South, do not bar Negro artists, but this was really not a superficial matter. *6-1-46 Saturday*

Indeed, it went to the very root of the jim-crow disgrace in the Nation's Capital where colored citizens suffer as many racial disabilities as did the Jews in Berlin under Hitler or the dark-skinned people of Johannesburg, South Africa, under the "enlightened" rule of that great democrat, Premier Jan Christian (?) Smuts.

Certain powerful people in high places are determined that nothing shall be permitted to undermine the Washington (D. C.) jim-crow system, and Constitution Hall is an outstanding symbol of white supremacy.

They feel that any surrender of the lily-white principles which govern life in Washington, D. C., even in one instance, would undermine and eventually destroy racial privileges there. *Pittsburgh Pennsylvania*

If Negroes could appear in Constitution Hall, then there would be no valid argument against selling them seats there; and if that happened, what sound reason would there be for barring Negroes from hotels, restaurants, cafes and other public places?

If Negroes were permitted to enter these public places like other citizens, a precedent would be set for the abolition of jim-crow public schools and for the end of the voting ban under which all residents of Washington, D. C., are disfranchised except in Presidential elections.

So, despite the laudable efforts of an embattled minority led by that great liberal, Representative Clare Booth Luce, the reactionary beldames gathered from all parts of the country and, headed by Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge of Athens, Ga., crushed the opposition and again emerged victorious.

Their victory has given reaction another respite, a little while longer to insult their fellow citizens who happen to be colored, a few more months or years to hold the dike against the forces of democracy that have been battling for years to bring Washington, D. C., at least to the level of pre-war Berlin, Tokyo and Rome.

But this may prove to be a Pyrrhic victory, for in modern wars of all kinds, nobody wins.

The Daughters of the American Revolution has suffered by this action a spiritual defeat which has aroused the scorn of people of good-will here and abroad for the principles which the organization espouses.

For all their power, authority and tradition, they can never speak again without invoking the spectre of hypocrisy whose bones will creak so loudly that nothing they can say will be heard.

At a time when America is striving for the moral leadership of the post-war world and weeping crocodile tears over the plight of the starving and persecuted on distant shores, the action of these elderly ladies mocks our national pretenses.

Foreigners will ask what sort of nation is it that champions democracy abroad and chokes it at home? And the answer will be obvious.

We salute the Committee Against Racial Discrimination in Constitution Hall for making its fight, for refusing to disband and for exposing by its action, the shabby character of the DAR and the forces which it represents.

The fight must be kept up, year in and year out, until the reactionary opposition yields or is completely discredited.

There can be no doubt about the ultimate result.

6-1-46 - Saturday

A DAR Scholarship Rejected

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Congressional Record

OF

HON. CLARE BOOTHE LUCE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, January 18, 1946

Mrs. LUCE. Mr. Speaker, on January 12, 1946, the following story appeared under an AP date line in the Hartford Courant: 1-18-46

WATERBURY SENIOR CLASS DECLINES AWARD OF DAR

WATERBURY, January 11.—Seniors of Crosby High School today voted, 150 to 80, to reject the annual Good Citizenship Pilgrimage Award of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

Sixteen-year-old Carol Wall, who offered the motion, explained tonight that "we just didn't think it was feasible to name a candidate for a good citizenship award sponsored by an organization which refused Negro musicians, Marion Anderson and Hazel Scott, permission to use Constitution Hall for concerts."

A few days later the following editorial appeared in the New York Times:

A SCHOLARSHIP REJECTED

Seniors of the Crosby High School at Waterbury, Conn., have voted to reject the annual good citizenship pilgrimage award of the Daughters of the American Revolution. The award is an interesting and useful one, consisting of a travel scholarship offered to a high-school representative from each State for a trip to historic American shrines. The reason given by a spokesman of the Waterbury students for their rejection of the scholarship is that they "just didn't think it was feasible to name a candidate for a good citizenship award sponsored by an organization that refused Negro musicians permission to use Constitution Hall for concerts."

The point is honorably taken. Any tour of American shrines must lead the traveler to the homes or the working places of a number of historic figures, men and women, who labored with deep conviction and unflagging effort to eliminate precisely that kind of discrimination which has been practiced in Constitution Hall. The ladies of the DAR are responsible for many good works. In this case, catering to an unworthy and unpatriotic prejudice, they have made a mistake which will haunt them until it has been corrected.

In the meanwhile, I had written 16-year-old Carol Wall and her senior class the following letter, which I am sure reflects the opinions of many mothers and fathers in our State and of many DAR members in our Connecticut chapters:

JANUARY 17, 1946.

Miss CAROL WALL,
Crosby High School, Waterbury, Conn.

MY DEAR CAROL: I read in the Hartford Courant of January 11 that you offered a motion in behalf of the Crosby High School seniors to reject the annual Good Citizenship Pilgrimage Award of the Daughters of the American Revolution because they had refused Negro musicians permission to use Constitution Hall for concerts and that your motion carried by a vote of 150 to 80.

I am writing to you and to the seniors who voted with you to tell you all how proud I was, when I read that, to be a Representative from your State.

These are hours, all over the world, when the power of darkness is great—the darkness of hate. And this flower of evil blooms nowhere so luxuriantly as in the soil of racial tension. Verbally we all condemn racial hatred. Actually too few of us do anything about it. An act of positive affirmation of love and brotherhood in racial matters is sufficiently rare that it shines like a bright light in a naughty world. It is all the more beautiful—and astonishing—when such an act is done by mere boys and girls in high school, for we adults are often—too often—told these days that the younger generation takes no interest in the profound questions which lie at the root of the world's unhappiness, that they care for nothing but "good times," movies, and "jive." By your brave action you have certainly disproved that proposition. If there be but 20 high schools in America where the pupils feel as you do, I shall never again despair for the future of our country.

It seems to me that by condemning the action of the Washington board of the DAR in discriminating against artists on a strictly color line, you have twice earned a good-citizenship award. But this second time you have earned it from 15,000,000 colored people, and many more millions of white people. And, believe me, you have earned it, too, from many a truly patriotic Daughter of the American Revolution who feels just as you do, but cannot make herself vocal, or prevail upon the reactionary leadership of the Washington board. As you know, we in Connecticut have many liberal DAR chapters—the Fairfield, Bridgeport, and Stamford chapters have all protested, just as you have.

Fundamentally why do they protest: For the same reason that you do. First, because it is ungodly to abuse, look down, condemn, or discriminate against any human being only because of the color of his skin. "Love thy neighbor as thyself" is the second commandment handed to Moses. Indeed, the Golden Rule is the first rule of 10 of the 11 great religions of the world. And for those of us who are true Christians, it is painful indeed to imagine what our dear Lord would say to many of our most respectable citizens in the U. S. A. who dare call themselves Christians today, if He were to come again. He would be very angry, I think, at the way they treat the Negroes, the most dispossessed, ill-treated, and abused of our population. He might say in condemning them, "Forasmuch as you have done it unto the least of these, my brethern, you have done it unto Me."

Yes, many older people—far too many—in America today forget that what made America the greatest and strongest and happiest of nations, what Abraham Lincoln called the last best hope of mankind, was that our whole political "ideology" was based on this particularly Christian precept of all men being created equal in the eyes of God and, therefore, entitled on earth to equality of opportunity to develop to the best of their capacities.

January 18, 1946

But you have remembered, Carol. You have not forgotten. You have behaved and thought as I would have been proud to have my own daughter do. So to you and the 150 who have stood by the best and truest in our Nation, greetings. And greetings, too, to the parents and teachers, and the community of Waterbury which built such character in you.

Tomorrow, America belongs to you.

Cordially yours,

CLARE BOOTHE LUCE.

New York Times

A SCHOLARSHIP REJECTED

1-18-46

Seniors of the Crosby High School at Waterbury, Conn., have voted to reject the annual Good Citizenship Pilgrimage Award of the Daughters of the American Revolution. The award is an interesting and useful one, consisting of a travel scholarship offered to a high school representative from each State for a trip to historic American shrines. The reason given by a spokesman of the Waterbury students for their rejection of the scholarship is that they "just didn't think it was feasible to name a candidate for a good citizenship award sponsored by an organization that refused Negro musicians permission to use Constitution Hall for concerts." New York, N.Y.

The point is honorably taken. Any tour of American shrines must lead the traveler to the homes or the working places of a number of historic figures, men and women, who labored with deep conviction and unflagging effort to eliminate precisely that kind of discrimination which has been practiced in Constitution Hall. The ladies of the D. A. R. are responsible for many good works. In this case, catering to an unworthy and unpatriotic prejudice, they have made a mistake which will haunt them until it has been corrected.

Stamford D.A.R.'s Urge End of Racial Ban

Courier-Journal

By the Associated Press.

Stamford, Conn. Jan. 17.—The Stamford Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, reversing a stand it took November 20, has approved a resolution urging the national board of management to take steps to "free the organization from the stigma of racial discrimination." Louisville, Ky.

To do this, the resolution said, the clause "for white artists only" should be deleted from the rules governing the use of the D.A.R.'s Constitution Hall at Washington where Hazel Scott, negro pianist and wife of Representative Adam C. Powell (D., N. Y.)—recently was barred from giving a recital. 1-18-46

Representative Clare Boothe Luce (R., Conn.) had threatened to resign from the Stamford Chapter because of its action of November 11.

The DAR Balks Again

Eddie Condon, the jazz band leader, who was refused permission to play at the DAR's Constitution Hall, in Washington, D. C., will give his jazz concert at the Willard Hotel there early in March. The Daughters, who refused to allow such eminent Negro artists as Marion Anderson to appear there, said the refusal was based on "the type of audience" which might be attracted, and "which may be very destructive." Ninety per cent of Condon's jazz concerts throughout the country have had Negro artists in his ensemble.

Washington D. A. R. Refuses Jazz Band's Bid For Constitution Hall Because of Audience

New York Times, New York

Thurs 2-21-46

By HOWARD TAUBMAN

Constitution Hall in Washington, which is owned by the Daughters of the American Revolution, has rejected a request for a date for a concert by Eddie Condon and his jazz orchestra, it became known yesterday.

The request for the rental of the hall was turned down because, according to Fred E. Hand, managing director, it has a rule against jazz bands.

In a letter to Jerome H. Cargill, Mr. Condon's representative, Mr. Hand wrote:

"This auditorium owned by the Daughters of the American Revolution operates under a policy which is most restrictive as to the type of attractions we may play."

One of these restrictions, Mr. Hand went on, "prevents us playing any jazz bands, not because of the attraction itself but rather because of the type of audience which attends and which in some cases may be very destructive."

Mr. Condon's representative then wrote to Mr. Hand offering to post a bond for $100,000 to cover Constitution Hall against possible damage by the audience. Mr. Hand replied that the ruling against the band stood.

Mr. Condon pointed out yesterday that he and his orchestra gave five concerts in Carnegie Hall last season and that they were giving a series of concerts at Town Hall this year. In addition, he said, his band is making a national tour this year, and it has had no difficulty in getting bookings in such auditoriums as Symphony Hall in Boston, Bushnell in Hartford, Kleinhans in Buffalo and in the major concert halls of a host of other cities from coast to coast.

It will be recalled that Constitution Hall was denied on previous occasions to Negro artists such as Marian Anderson, contralto, and Hazel Scott, pianist.

Mr. Condon observed yesterday that his band of sixteen men are all white. He hastened to add that "that was beside the point, since our only test is whether a guy can give out as a musician." Since his band has established a national reputation on radio and records, he felt that the refusal of Constitution Hall was an affront against a distinctive and widely popular branch of American music.

"One more thing," Mr. Condon said, "and that's not the most important point either—every one of our players was born in this country." Thurs 2-21-46

Since no other theatre is available, Mr. Condon said he would try to play the date on March 3 at some hotel in Washington.

In Eddie's hot jazz band are Joe Sullivan, Joe Bushkin and Gene Schroeder, pianists; Dave Tough and George Wettling, drums; Trigger Alpert and Jack Lesberg, double bass; Wild Bill Davison, Muggsy Spanier, Billy Butterfield and Bobby Hackett, trumpets; Peewee Russell, Tony Parenti and Joe Dixon, clarinets; George Brunies and Brad Gowans, trombones.

Brooklyn High School Refuses Medal Of DAR

Houston Informer, Houston, Texas

BROOKLYN, N. Y. — The Girl's High school of Brooklyn, which has a goodly percentage of Negro students enrolled, has refused to accept the annual American History medals awarded by the Battle Pass Chapter of the DAR. The action was taken because the Battle Pass Chapter wrote Principal Edith M. Ward that its policy was "not to comment on any action taken by the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution."

Mrs. Ward had written the chapter that her students were "upset at the discrimination shown by the Washington Chapter of the DAR in the case of Hazel Scott, and earlier, Marian Anderson." She asked what the attitude was of the Battle Pass chapter. When informed that the Battle Pass Chapter had "no comment," Principal Ward wrote:

"To evade a stand is equivalent to agreement with those who would deny to the Negro his Americanism. I regret, therefore, that because of this, our long and hitherto pleasant relations will have to be severed."

DAR Given Right Of Hall Choice

Atlanta, Ga. Atlanta Daily World

WASHINGTON, D.C.—(NNPA)—The Daughters of the American Revolution pay taxes on Constitution Hall to the extent that it is used for rent or income purposes, and therefore should possess the privilege of other places of amusement or entertainment to admit only those whom they desire.

This was the opinion expressed by the Commissioners last Thursday in forwarding to the Capitol their opposition to a proposed bill to remove the tax exemption given certain DAR properties by an act of 1917 if they discriminate against any person on the ground of race, creed, color or national origin in the admission to or rental of the hall.

Aftermath Refusal

The measure was introduced by Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas, Democrat, of California, as an aftermath to the refusal of the DAR last fall to rent the hall for a concert by Hazel Scott, famed colored musician. Use of the hall was also previously denied to singer Marian Anderson in 1938 because of her race.

Sun 2-24-46

It'll Bear Fruit

Atlanta Daily World, Atlanta, Ga.

Congressman Powell, in deploring the action of the Daughters of the American Revolution for barring his wife, Hazel Scott from Washington's Constitution Hall, said that they should no longer be called by that name, and that instead they should be called the Daughters of American Reaction. A few weeks later, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, who had resigned membership from the organization some 8 years earlier because it had refused Marian Anderson a permit to appear there, warned the American people that the membership of the organization were mostly old women and that as such, it will take time for them to forget their prejudices.

Thurs 2-21-46

Last week the Girls' High School of Brooklyn, N. Y. which has a goodly number of Negro students, refused to accept the annual American History medal because one of the D.A.R. chapters, to which Mrs. Edith M. Ward, principal of the school belonged, advising her against its policy of making "any comment on any action taken by the National Society of the Daughter of American Revolution."

"To evade a stand in the discrimination controversy," declared Mrs. Ward, "is equivalent to agreement with those who would deny to the Negro his Americanism. I regret, therefore, that because of this, our long and hitherto pleasant relations will have to be severed."

The country needs more stout-hearted, brave women such as Mrs. Ward and Mrs. Roosevelt to make their views known on such fundamental issues as discrimination and other injustices based on skin-color. The Constitution defines the basic American rights for her citizens. The Daughters of the American Revolution should not be permitted to maintain these Un-American practices with the sanction of upstanding citizens. Fortunately for them, the Nation is beginning to demonstrate the futility of their thinking. They are headed back toward Colonialism and there is simply no room for that sort of thinking in the present world.

BRAVO!

Montgomery Advertiser, Ala.

It is quite possible that the Daughters of the American Revolution have again committed an indiscretion that will lead to violent criticism from certain quarters but the DAR's latest "refusal" will immeasurably strengthen its moral position with the great majority of mature Americans. Often abused and criticized in the past because of its adamant stand with regard to renting Constitution Hall to every musician who may fancy himself or herself of concert caliber, the Daughters have now largely refuted the standing charge against them of "race discrimination." There is less excuse now, in the light of the latest denial of Constitution Hall, for a repetition of the race discrimination charge levied by those who seek to capitalize upon the proud traditions of the Daughters of the American Revolution. The blue-stockinged ladies can and do refuse the use of Constitution Hall to others besides Negro artists.

It begins to appear that the DAR has set itself the difficult though laudable task of upholding and perpetuating the finest traditions of art, and more especially musical art. If such purpose be the aim of the oft-maligned organization they deserve the wholehearted support of many who have been noticeably indifferent upon occasion in the past. No doubt there is a place in the so-called cultural life of contemporary America for the type of music "given out" by hot jive bands and the "rum and coco-cola, hubba-hubba" brand of tuneless rubbish which generally characterizes the prominent name bands. But one just does not associate that sort of thing with the ideals one would expect the DAR to uphold. For the staid but proud old ladies to allow themselves to become even the grandmothers of the hubba-hubba artists is as unthinkable as "ragging" the national anthem. Bravo!

Wed 2-27-46

Delaware Students Rap DAR As "Un-American"

Chicago Defender, Ill.

By ORRIN EVANS

WILMINGTON, Del. — The Daughters of the American Revolution, which refused to permit Marian Anderson, contralto, and Hazel Scott, pianist, the use of Constitution Hall in Washington this week was on the receiving end of a snub.

On George Washington's birthday delegates to the Delaware State Chapter of the D.A.R., in annual meeting in the Hotel DuPont, received a letter of condemnation from the entire senior class of 45 students of the Dover High School, located in the State capital.

The letter firmly declined the invitation of the D.A.R. to participate in the national D.A.R. annual "Good Citizenship Pilgrimage Contest."

DAR Bigoted *3-9-46*

The students said that any organization which sponsored a "good citizenship" contest should not be "prejudiced" in matters of race, creed, or color; that it "should not be bigoted," and that, moreover, it should "freely dispense democratic principles."

The letter specifically mentioned that the D.A.R. had refused the use of Constitution Hall to "certain artists." And that, the students contended, constituted "un-American actions."

The State D.A.R. had invited high school senior classes to select their "best citizen" student in the State-wide contest. State winners are to be selected for a tour of American shrines.

To "Explain" Action *3-9-46*

After the students' letter was read at the D.A.R. session, the 28 delegates voted, 18 to 10, to send a committee to explain to the students that the various chapters follow the customs of the cities in which they are located. Mrs. John L. Farmer, Laurel, Del., presided.

The students' letter was signed by Josh Twilley, president of the Dover High senior class, by the president of the school's student council and by an honor student who is a candidate for valedictorian.

In Dover, when she was informed of Twilley's action, his mother, Mrs. Robert Garton, said:

Saturday

Mother Objects

"I'm not in sympathy with my son's views at all. I feel the D.A.R. deserves a better break."

Informed that the D.A.R. would send a committee to Dover to meet with the students, she said: "That's a good idea. I don't know where Josh gets these ideas."

There are only two Negroes in the graduating class.

Mrs. Grace Raynor Joins DAR Protest

Afro American, Baltimore, Md

BAYSIDE, N.Y.— (NNPA) — Mrs. Grace Raynor has resigned from the Matinecock Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution in protest against the action of the national board of management in refusing to rent Constitution Hall in Washington, D.C., to Miss Hazel Scott, pianist, for a concert there. *Sat 2-23*

Termed Un-American

In a letter to Mrs. Frederick Roe, regent of the chapter at Flushing, Mrs. Raynor wrote that "intolerance and discrimination because of race, color or creed is wrong whether practiced in Washington, D.C., Bangor, Maine, or anywhere else. It is un-American and I know right well it is not what my ancestors fought and died for in either the Revolutionary or the Civil War, and I will have no part of it."

Constitution-Hall Tax Bill Opposed

Afro American, Baltimore, Md.

WASHINGTON.

A bill introduced by Rep. Helen Gahagan Douglas (Dem., Calif.) that would exclude Constitution Hall from tax exemption should the Daughters of American Revolution continue discriminatory policies there was opposed last Thursday by the District Commissioners.

In a letter to John L. McMillan (Dem., S.C.), chairman of the House District Committee, Vernon E. West, president, said the board felt that because the DAR pays taxes on the hall "to the extent to which it is used to secure a rent or income, it should be treated as any other place of amusement." *Sat 2-23-46*

Count Cases Cited

Other places of amusement or entertainment in the District, he said, are entirely under the control of the proprietor or manager, and he may exclude or admit whomsoever he chooses.

Such places have the right to admit only those persons they desire, he continued, and cited the case of Marrone vs. the Washington Jockey Club, in which the District Court of Appeals held:

". . . on the other hand, places of amusement and entertainment, in the absence of some statutory regulation . . . are entirely under the control of the proprietor or manager and he may exclude or admit whomsoever he chooses."

This decision, he said, was affirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States. Therefore, he declared, the Commissioners report adversely on the DAR tax exemption bill and recommend that it not be passed.

Paid Light Taxes

Mr. West revealed in the letter that the DAR paid to the District in taxes on Constitution Hall $6,295 in 1933 and $7,387 in 1946.

The DAR obtained its original tax-exemption status on the property under the Act of March 3, 1877, "providing for exemptions of church and school property, and acts amendatory thereof."

Additional properties acquired in the District by the DAR were rendered partially tax exempt by later statutes.

Potent Reaction of DAR Color Bar On Use of Constitution Hall

Journal & Guide, Norfolk, Va.

Staff Correspondence

STAMFORD, Conn. — The local chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) reversed its stand of last Nov. 20, 1945, when it voted 22 to 19 last week (1-16-46) to urge the national board of the DAR to recind its ban against Negroes using Constitution Hall in Washington.

Representative Clare Boothe Luce of this city, who resigned from the local DAR chapter after its November 20th action, reportedly stated in Washington when she learned of the action: "Isn't that fine. I'm awfully glad to hear it. That's gaining very much."

STUDENTS 'SLAP' DAR

WATERBURY, Conn.—The seniors of the Crosby High School here voted a fortnight ago to reject the annual Good Citizenship Pilgrimage Award of the DAR, which offers to a High School senior a special trip to the important historic shrines in the nation.

Reason the students rejected the attractive award was summed up by a student, who said that "we did not think it was feasible to name a candidate for a good citizenship award sponsored by an organization that refused Negro musicians Hazel Scott and Marian Anderson permission to use Constitution Hall for concerts." Several Negroes are members of the school.

. . . AND, STILL ANOTHER 'SLAP' *1-26-46*

Meanwhile, the DAR received still another "slap" last week when the New York Times, while commenting on the refusal of Waterbury student to accept a DAR citizenship award to make special travels throughout the nation, said:

"The (students') point is honorably taken . . . The ladies of the DAR . . . are catering to an unworthy and unpatriotic prejudice, they have made a mistake which will haunt them until it has been corrected."—V. W.

49 1946 D. C. (DAR)

WASHINGTON, D. C.
TIMES-HERALD
Circ. D. 215,750 - S. 255,111

APR 25 1946

D. A. R. Lifts Racial Ban on Constitution Hall; Tuskegee Choir to Give Concert on June 3

'No Strings' to Offer By Executive Group

(Continued from First Page)

Easter concert in front of the Lincoln Memorial.

The storm that broke on the occasion of the 1939 incident threatened to engulf the ivory tower from which the D.A.R. had managed its affairs and when calm prevailed certain important members headed by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt had resigned.

Miss Anderson had another brush with the D.A.R. when the organization invited her to sing in the fall of 1942. But negotiations fell through when Miss Anderson insisted that Negroes should not be segregated and she be permitted to appear in the hall in future concerts.

Eventually, in January 1943, Miss Anderson did sing at Constitution Hall for the United China Relief. That concert also was a benefit affair.

Last year Hazel Scott, the Negro pianist, was refused a date at the hall.

Miss Scott is married to Representative Adam C. Powell (D.), of New York, who brought the controversy to the House floor and remarked that the D.A.R. again had fallen back on its policy of barring Negro artists.

Mrs. John Bayley O'Brien chairman of the national press relations committee, D.A.R., pointed out last night in her Bronxville, N. Y., home that the "general public doesn't realize we can't change rules overnight."

She pointed out that the elimination of the discriminatory clause would have to be taken up at the May congress, but that as matters now stood there was "not the least change in policy."

To Avoid Future Controversies

It was understood that recently the D.A.R. secretly voted to bar all outside talent, but that the matter was held in abeyance because of the commitments already made which expire at the end of the year. Thus, it was said, the D.A.R. will avoid all future controversies.

In the exchange of letters, Mrs. Talmadge said: "This is a most worthy undertaking and we will help in every way to make it a splendid financial success.

"Tuskegee is a school with a proud record," Mrs. Talmadge continued. "Its noted choir has been an inspiration to millions who have been privileged to attend its concerts or hear it on the radio. The benefit concert for the United Negro College Fund will pack Constitution Hall to the doors and will be another artistic triumph for this group of gifted singers."

Dr. F. D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee, promptly accepted and telegraphed:

"Delighted to be advised of the generous invitation from D.A.R.

Acme Photo
MRS. CLARE BOOTHE LUCE

to have Tuskegee Choir give benefit concert at Constitution Hall in honor of Booker T. Wasihngton. Accept June 3 pending the working out of details with our representatives."

The "details" are expected to be merely routine—but nothing like those that kept Marian Anderson, called by Arturo Toscanini "the greatest voice in 100 years," from giving a concert here twice—in the spring of 1939 and the fall of 1942.

Recalls Three Incidents

The D.A.R. reversal recalled vividly the two Anderson incidents and that of the Negro pianist, Hazel Scott, who was refused a date at the hall. The 1939 Anderson affair aroused a national controversy and included such champions for the Negro contralto as Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black, Senators La Follette and Capper, Harold Ickes, Mrs. Eleanor Patterson, Katharine Hepburn and scores of Representatives.

One Congressman, James P. McGranery, of Pennsylvania, wanted a congressional investigation. Another legislator, Representative Arthur Mitchell (D.), of Illinois, remarked: "This smacks of Naziism. It wouldn't surprise me if Hitler gave the D.A.R. a medal."

Central High School also refused to let Miss Anderson sing there but later reversed itself. Instead, Miss Anderson sang before the Lincoln Memorial in an unforgettable concert which evoked the great tribute of complete silence when she concluded Schubert's Ave Maria.

In the fall of 1942, Miss Anderson declined an invitation to sing at Constitution Hall when the Daughters refused to recognize

Harris-Ewing Photo
MRS. JULIUS TALMADGE

the singer's conditions that there be no segregation of the races and that she be permitted to appear in the hall in future concerts.

Commenting last night on the turnabout, Senator La Follette declared: "I am very gratified to learn that this change in policy has been inaugurated. I hope it means that the ban on artists and others, based on racial issues, has been permanently lifted."

Wilbur LaRoe, former chairman of the Civic Committee of the Washington Federation of Churches, who was one of the D.A.R.'s bitterest critics in the Anderson incident of 1939, praised the reversal.

Congratulates D.A.R.

"I think it is a very commendable thing that the D.A.R. has finally opened its doors to Negro talent," he said. "The D.A.R. is to be congratulated for living in the Twentieth Century instead of the Eighteenth.

"We can't have universal peace if we are going to discriminate against people. We must find a more valid criterion for judging the social value of people, than the color of the pigment in their skin."

Mrs. Luce could not be reached for comment last night. Her secretary, Al Morano, explained she was out of town on business.

"But I know she'll be naturally delighted," Morano said. "She's been working for this a long time. She certainly will be elated and I know she'll be working to have that discrimination clause stricken out of the D.A.R. once and for all."

CINCINNATI, O.
UNION

MAY 2 - 1946

THE WEEK

Chief Justice Stone
Daughters Back Down
War in the South
Two States.

By ROSCOE SIMMONS

FEW WEEKS IN A GREAT WHILE have been more interesting than the week just passed.

Death of Chief Justice Stone; the flight of South Carolina Byrnes to Paris; argument over the O.P.A.; visit of former Chief Justice Hughes to the White House—first one thing, then another, filled your days.

An hour, a day, a week, a month, then a year—add these up, and stand Man alongside the total, and you have what is called History.

Talk everywhere is about the late Chief Justice, Harlan Stone.

His first name ought to stir hearts that love freedom—HARLAN. That is the name of the greatest man that ever sat on the Supreme Court bench.

You ask, who was that man? He was John Marshall Harlan of Kentucky.

When President Taft failed to elevate Harlan to Chief Justice, and, instead, picked up Edward White for the honor, many people got scary.

* * *

A mourner for the late Mr. Stone is Judge Francis Ellis Rivers, a name itself for the records. Go into the chambers of Judge Rivers in New York, and you will find his Columbia diploma on the wall.

The only name on it is that of Chief Justice Stone, Rivers' teacher; his, and, of course, Columbia's president, Nicholas Murray Butler.

"The greatest chief justice" you read daily in papers that speak of Stone. He was not that, however. Three great men have been chief justice, Marshall, Taney and Charles Evans Hughes.

Marshall said he would like to consider Slavery, but he didn't have the chance. Haney had the chance, and set fire to the nation.

Hughes wrote the Mitchell opinion that took millions out of jim crow cars. So write the word "great" after the name Hughes.

WHEN YOU BEGIN TALKING about the back-down of the D.A.R., call the name of Arthur W. Little.

It was Colonel Little who first challenged the Daughters on its jim crow platform. Years back a colored lady, descendant of a Soldier of the Revolution, was first accepted as a member of the Daughters, then rejected when her "race" became known.

Immediately the Daughters and Colonel Little, member of the Sons of the Revolution, started battling.

That great man gave this humble writer the papers in the case. In due time that story will be written.

But here you see the Daughters falling in line with the times.

The doors of its Constitution Hall are thrown open to the Tuskegee Choir. Fifty years hence people reading about the strange doings of the Daughters will wonder how a hall named "Constitution" was ever denied to people belonging to the Constitution.

Nothing since Surrender beats the treatment by the Daughters of Marian Anderson, one of the few first Women —but that is water over the dam.

Thank Mrs. Luce and Mrs. Roosevelt for the defeat of Mrs. Talmadge of Georgia. The question was, Is New York or is Georgia representative of the USA?

This time next year the by-laws and constitution of the D.A.R. will not have the word "color" in it.

You saw where Mrs. Talmadge said the Tuskegee Choir that will sing in honor of Booker T. Washington would be a "great occasion."

Not half as great as Mrs. Talmadge getting down off her high horse.

THE REAL WAR IS ON, a war over rights of man—that between the C.I.O. and A.F. of L.

You have been advised of the steps in mobilization taken by these organizations to "invade" the South.

Words of Philip Murray back this humble writer. "We are going into the South," said Mr. Murray, "going in with all we've got.

"We mean to free the South, everybody in it, and if we can run men like Bilbo and Rankin out of public life, it's all to the good."

The A. F. of L., which up to now has been more "Race" than "labor" is hurrying South to meet the C.I.O.

Maybe you read what George Baldanzi, C.I.O. chief, had to say.

Here is a word or two from him:

"No matter what the obstacles may be, the CIO has made a decision. We are going to dedicate not a year but as many years as are required until such time as we re-establish the rights of citizenship for workers of the South, and take them out of bondage."

Call that a declaration of war. "Us too," commented A. F. of L. people.

* * *

But for the presence of John L. Lewis in the A. F. of L. crowd you wouldn't pay much attention to them. As it is, you hear more of the "fight" between CIO and AF of L than of the fight to free the people of Dixie.

But put this down, ten years hence the South will be a place, with everybody voting and few people getting off the sidewalks.

Also, no more exodus.

CAMPAIGNS IN TWO STATES will interest you; at least ought to interest you—the campaigns in Georgia and Mississippi.

In Georgia it will be Arnall versus Talmadge, Rivers, Harris and Co.

Both great Atlanta papers, Grady's Constitution and Hoke Smith's Journal are on Arnall's side. Also, put down the Augusta Chronicle and the Savannah News.

In Mississippi Mr. Bilbo is running again. Unless Gov. Bailey enters the battle, you don't have much choice.

Suppose Perry W. Howard, Missisippi's great citizen, or S. D. Redmond a rare genius, man of great wealth, as famous in medicine as in law, would run for the Senate in Mississippi—just suppose. Either would make a great Senator.

* * *

Who will get the democratic nomination? you ask. Bilbo, more than likely. He can holler "Negro" louder than anybody else running, and can quote from scripture.

In Georgia, now the brightest spot in the South, James Carmichael of Cobb, a Marietta boy, carries the Arnall banner.

Put money on Carmichael, although Talmadge is a good mile and quarter horse. And knows what to do with the word "Negro."

How does it feel to be center of every political contest? Been so since 1789, too.

ASBURY PARK, N. J.
PRESS
Circ. D. 15,345 S. 10,359

MAY 20 1946

D.A.R. Ponders Racial Clause

ATLANTIC CITY. (AP) — The Daughters of the American Revolution gathered in hotel lobbies before the opening of their fifty-fifth continental congress today and the talk mostly was about the move to erase the "white artists only" clause from commercial leases for their 4,000-seat Constitutional hall in Washington.

A 17-woman committee had taken the step to permit colored entertainers to appear in commercial programs at the D.A.R.'s hall. They had submitted to the resolutions committee a recommendation that the words "white artists only," instituted in 1932, be deleted in future leases.

Most of the 2,000 delegates wondered vocally. Would the resolutions committee bring the proposal to the floor of the congress which gets under way tonight after a pre-congress national defense meeting? Or would the resolution be tabled? And then, would a member of the 17-woman committee introduce it on the floor of the Congress?

The showdown was expected tomorrow or Wednesday.

Called "Black Eye"

Rep. Clare Boothe Luce (R.-Conn.), a member of the committee submitting the resolution, had said last February that she did not believe the D.A.R. intended racial discrimination but that continuation of the clause might give the daughters "a black eye." She added:

"Daughters of the American Revolution don't think the blood which they have inherited from their ancestors makes them one jot or tittle better citizens."

Mrs. Luce is a member of the D.A.R., but not a delegate to the congress.

There has been much controversy over the clause. At one time Marian Anderson, colored contralto, had been banned from appearing in Constitution hall. In 1943, however, at the invitation of the D.A.R. she gave a benefit performance in the hall. An official of the congress said the Negro Tuskegee institute choir was scheduled to sing at the hall next month.

Recently Hazel Scott, colored pianist, was refused permission to present a concert in the hall. Shortly afterwards the D. A. R.'s executive committee and national board issued this statement:

"Rules of management for Constitutional hall were drawn up in accordance with the prevailing custom of the District of Columbia regarding schools, auditoriums, theaters, hotels, restaurants, clubs, canteens, playgrounds, etc. One such ruling contains these words—'That the words "white artists only" be added to the leases for use of Constitutional hall.'"

Committee Members

The exact wording of the proposed resolution by the committee of 17 was not made public. Members of the committee, in addition to Mrs. Luce, are:

Mrs. J. W. Dixon, Newport News, Va.; Lucille Green, Passaic; Mrs. Richard P. Hatfield, Fanwood; Mrs. E. Orne Krebs, Hagerstown, Md.; Mrs. Charles H. Roberts, Westfield; Mrs. Theodore D. Robinson, Mohawk, N. Y.; Mrs. E. C. Denny Vann, Leonia; Mrs. Claude C. Van Nuys, Greenwich, Conn.; Mrs. Robert P. Boynton, NewYork; Mrs. A. B. Hine, jr., Pittsburgh; Mrs. W. C. McGaffic, Paterson; Helen M. McWilliams, New York; Mrs. A. B. Hine, jr., Trenton; Mrs. Percy B. Trassburger, Montclair; and Helen Whittier, Nottingham, N. H. The seventeenth member was Dr. Maeanna Chesterton-Mangle, committee secretary, but not a member of the D.A.R.

DAR Gets Set for Stormy Session

P.M. New York, N.Y.

One of the stormiest sessions in Daughters of the American Revolution history is expected today when delegates to the 55th annual convention in Atlantic City consider a resolution concerning the controversial "white artists only" issue.

The predicted floor fight will center about a resolution to delete the phrase from leases for the use of Constitution Hall in Washington, which is owned by the DAR. The resolutions committee has received the resolution, and will report today. If the committee does not introduce the resolution, a delegate may present a motion from the floor to force it out of committee.

NEWARK, N. J.
NEWS
Circ. D. 203,861

MAY 21 1946

DAR Counters On Race Issue

Orders Dissolution of Committee Fighting Discrimination

BY EDITH M. HUTCHINSON
Staff Correspondent.

ATLANTIC CITY—The national society of the Daughters of the American Revolution today adopted a resolution ordering dissolution of the "unauthorized" Committee Against Racial Discrimination in the Use of Constitution Hall. The committee, headed by Representative Clare Booth Luce, and including 16 DAR members in its group of 17, has been working to eliminate the "white only" restrictive clause in rentals of the DAR's Constitution Hall to artists.

The resolution, adopted by a voice vote with few dissenters, also forbids the use of the terms "DAR" or "Constitution Hall" as identification by any person or group without the society's consent.

The action today came after Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge of Georgia, DAR president general, announced last night that the national board has appointed a special committee to look into the matter of leases on the hall. In her keynote address she said the granting of free and unconditional use of the hall to the Tuskegee Institute Choir for June 8 did not in any way change the rules of the DAR on rentals.

The president's statement that a committee would investigate was taken to presage stormy weather at today's session in the matter of the resolutions submitted calling for a deletion of the clause from the leases.

Should it develop that the resolutions committee has tabled the matter, Mrs. Elizabeth C. Denny Vann of Leonia is expected to ask if the subject is considered irrelevant to the work of the organization. According to official ruling, only subjects in that category and resolutions duplicating others which have been offered may be eliminated.

Mrs. Vann is a delegate from Polly Wyckoff Chapter of Englewood, which is supporting her demand that the clause be deleted. With Representative Luce, who is a member of Eunice Dennie Burr Chapter, Connecticut, she has headed the committee against discrimination. The Connecticut Society, DAR, also has strongly opposed the restricting clause.

"Prevailing Custom"

Mrs. Talmadge said that the Constitution Hall restriction was based on conformity with prevailing customs in the District of Columbia, and pointed out that Washington has separate schools, playgrounds, halls, theaters and restaurants for the white and colored races.

"These customs were carefully worked out as best suited to existing conditions and conducive to the greatest happiness and peace for all," she said. "The Congress of the United States can change them at any time it so desires and is the sole body that can do so."

Can't "Dictate"

Mrs. Talmadge went on to indicate that unlike their revolutionary ancestors, the DAR does not believe in taking the initiative to change a prevailing order of affairs. She commented:

"During this turmoil, some members have urged that we take the lead in abolishing the established order of customs in Washington. We as an organization are in accord with any individual who wishes to keep step with the march of progress, regardless of birth or color, but we would naturally hesitate to assume the role of dictators to the lawmakers of the land."

'White Artists' Clause Before D. A. R. Session

Birmingham News
Alabama

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., May 21 —(AP)—The daughters of the American Revolution has agreed to study rental contracts which bar Negro entertainers from the D. A. R. Constitution Hall at Washington, D. C.

5-21-46

Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge, of Athens, Ga., president-general of the D. A. R., announced last night a special committee has been appointed "to go thoroughly into the matter of leases" which contain the words "white artists only."

A spokesman for a 17-woman committee, headed by Rep. Clare Boothe Luce (R., Conn.) said the group's activities in the past few months caused numerous D. A. R. chapters to petition Mrs. Talmadge to have the "white artists only" clause deleted from the contracts.

The 17-woman committee took the step to permit Negro entertainers to appear in commercial programs at the D. A. R.'s famous hall. They had submitted to the resolutions committee a recommendation that the words "white artists only," instituted in 1932, be deleted in future leases.

Tues.

The showdown was expected today or tomorrow.

Rep. Clare Boothe Luce (R., Conn)., a member of the committee submitting the resolution, is not a delegate to the congress. Six of the 17 on the committee are delegates.

5-21-46

There has been much controversy over the clause. At one time Marian Anderson, the Negro contralto, had been banned from appearing in Constitution Hall. In 1943, however, at the invitation of the D. A. R. she gave a benefit performance in the hall. An official of the congress said the Negro Tuskegee Institute choir was scheduled to sing at the Hall next month.

Recently Hazel Scott, Negro pianist, was refused permission to present a concert in the hall. After government seizure of Washington buildings for wartime purposes only Constitutional Hall was left in the city for accommodation of large crowds.

DAR Rally Votes to Gag Insurgent Critics of Anti-Negro Practices

Committee Can't Say 'Constitution Hall' Without Permission

By Eleanor Morehead
Washington Bureau

ATLANTIC CITY, May 22.—The Daughters of the American Revolution, in an "off with their heads" mood yesterday, outlawed and ordered the "immediate dissolution" of a rebel committee which is fighting the organization's exclusion of Negro artists from DAR-owned Constitution Hall in Washington.

The resolution was a surprise frontal attack on the Committee Against Discrimination in the Use of Constitution Hall, which was formed and is led by Rep. Claire Boothe Luce (R., Conn.) Mrs. Luce is not a delegate to the convention, but it was rumored that she had arrived here to help the committee's floor leader, Mrs. E. C. Denny Vann, of Leonia, N. J.

The DAR was thorough in its liquidation of the committee, forbidding it or any other unauthorized group to "use the terms DAR and Constitution Hall," unless express consent is given.

Down the Hatch

The delegates also passed a resolution expressing their "implicit confidence in the ability of the members of the national board to reach a wise solution of any controversial question which may arise, and that they should be allowed to use their discretion to that end without restriction or directives."

Discussing the committee and the "outlaw" resolution with reporters, Mrs. Grace L. H. Brosseau, chairman of the resolutions committee, said: "Down the hatch into the ash can! When a person who has never been to a DAR meeting in her life forms a group of dissidents, they don't even rate. It just isn't"

The person, "obviously, was Mrs. Luce, who had been a member of Mrs. Brosseau's Greenwich, Conn., DAR Chapter until she withdrew and transferred to the Stamford Chapter because the Greenwich group refused to condemn the DAR's "White artists only" policy at the hall.

One Dissenting Voice

The 16 "rebel" members of the committee have two more chances to get the convention to consider their resolution which calls for deletion of the "white artists only" phrase in the hall's commercial leases.

Today, and tomorrow, final day of the convention, the resolutions committee will again introduce resolutions. However, it can withhold the "white artists only" one, in which case any delegate may move to bring it out of committee. The catch is that this motion would have to be voted on by the delegates, and they, 4000 of them showed how they felt about it when they unanimously passed the "outlaw" resolution yesterday. Only a single dissenting voice, whose owner was not identified was heard.

Mrs. Vann said she would not decide to take "direct action" until the final report Thursday.

Asked whether the resolution would be introduced by her committee, Mrs. Brosseau said: "If the members still wish to present it, we may.

"We really want everybody to be happy. All the good ones, that is. But the bad little girls; we're not so crazy about them. We thought they got plenty to digest this morning. We thought that was about all they could take."

By voting to outlaw the committee. the delegates indorsed the tongue-lashing which their President-General, Mrs. Julius Young Talmadge, had administered to the rebels the night before at the formal opening of the convention.

Mrs. Vann also took issue with the President's statement that there are separate theatres, schools, and restaurants for whites and Negroes in Washington.

"Only a few theaters and the DAR Building are closed to Negroes," Mrs. Vann declared.

Asked why she was leading the rebel move, she said: "I was raised in Virginia where you don't get away from your raising. I was brought up in a Christian home. I consider such discrimination un-Christian."

DAR Orders Dissolution Of Committee

Luce Group Blamed For Disagreement

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., May 22—(AP)—A DAR official today blamed Representative Clare Boothe Luce (R-Conn.) for causing a row at the society's fifty-fifth Continental Congress over the "White Artists Only" clause in Constitution Hall rental contracts, and said if she had not injected herself into the matter it would have been settled quietly.

"Personally, I think its an awkward clause, and Ithink it could ward clause, and I think it could Mrs. Grace L. H. Brosseau, of Greenwich, Conn., national chairman of the Daughters of the American Revolution resolutions committee, told reporters.

The congress has ordered dissolution of a 17-woman "committee against racial discrimination in the use of Constitution Hall," headed by Mrs. Luce. The committee had sought deletion of the rental contract phrase after the DAR refused Negro Pianist Hazel Scott permission to use the hall for a concern last Fall.

"If Clare Luce had not injected herself into this, it would have been settled long ago," Mrs. Brousseau said. "The board would have acted quietly on it, if it had come from a veteran member, but the national board is not going to be dictated to by a woman who has not even attended a DAR meeting."

Mrs. Brosseau said, "We have had rows in the DAR before, but this isn't a racial discrimination issue—it's a matter of DAR pol-

Julius Y. Talmadge, of Ga., president-general of AR, told reporters, "This has been given over to a committee, which will re- its findings later to the national board."

Mrs. Brosseau's resolutions committee failed to bring to the floor today a resolution calling for deletion of the "White Artists Only" phrase which had been submitted by the Polly Wyckoff Chapter, of Northern New Jersey. for which Mrs. C. E. Denny Vann, of Leonia, N. J., is floor spokesman.

Mrs. Vann said if the Wyckoff Chapter resolution is not brought out for action tomorrow she probably would introduce it from the floor.

"Negroes are not the only ones barred from our platform by the rental contract," Mrs. Vann said. "The DAR has carried on an extensive program to educate Indians, and this congress has appropriated funds for the work, and yet a talented Indian could not appear on our platform. The contract also refuses Filipons, some South Americans and others the right to our platform.

"The dirtiest stevedore would be welcome, but not Madame Chiang Kai-shek."

Mrs. Brosseau said her committee had brought out resolutions which were important as guides to chapters for the next year's work.

The congress approved 11 resolutions. One was a reaffirmation of the DAR's "active opposition to legislation for the socialization of medicine as now proposed" in Congress.

Another resolution appealed to President Truman and Congress to "refrain from further weakening of the immigration and naturalization laws of the United States."

Negroes In Revolution Left D.A.R. Eligibles

Sir:

An event such as the recent DAR controversy over the deletion of the "white artists only" clause in the rental policy of Constitution Hall in Washington, D. C., presents opportunities to examine the hypocritical existence of organization of this nature.

If it is true that membership is based upon the fact that one's ancestors fought in the Revolution, it will probably amaze and shock the DAR to learn that there are several thousand Negroes eligible for membership. You see, more than five thousand black troops fought, bled and died with Washington's heroes to win the Revolutionary War.

One of the most interesting assignments a newspaper reporter could have would be to round up and write a story on the black DAR eligibles running around New England, New York and New Jersey. Since there were more than 5,000 Negro soldiers in the Revolutionary War, I would take it for granted that some of them had offsprings. and that some of their descendants are around and about, since, having children is one of the few inalienable rights that Negro-Americans have been able to exercise without restraint and proscription. Many of them have undoubtedly "passed over" into the white race and may even be members of the DAR at the moment. However, there are perhaps enough obviously colored ones to make the discovery genuine.

Would the descendants of old Crispus Attucks be eligible for membership? The well informed know that old Crispus was the first American to die in the Revolution. He challenged the British soldiers authority to control his citizenship privileges and was thereupon promptly shot down like a dog in the first skirmish of the Boston Massacre. Attucks is a revered and acknowledged hero in New England.

Let us start a real honest-to-goodness controversy by lining up some black DAR timber, and pressing for membership. Such an event would take the strikes. the UN, and Earl Browder off the front pages of our American press.

The Negro is indigenous to the soil of America. He reserves to no one the right to determine his place. His place will be determined by the quality of his citizenship. He is secure in the knowledge that:

"This land is ours by right of birth;
We helped to till its virgin earth,
This land is ours by right of toil;
Our sweat is in its fruitful soil."

Everett Frederic Morrow
Captain, AUS

Oklahoma City, Okla.
OKLAHOMAN
Circ. D. 99,965 - S. 163,349
APR 18 1946

Clare Luce Backs Negro Choir's Plea

WASHINGTON, April 17.—(AP)—Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge, president general of the Daughters of the American Revolution, said Wednesday that "pressure" by Rep. Clare Booth Luce (R., Conn.) was hindering the request of the Tuskegee Institute choir to appear in Constitution hall.

Mrs. Talmadge said she had received a telegram Tuesday from Mrs. Luce as spokesman for the "DAR Committee Against Racial Discrimination in Constitution Hall," urging that the DAR national board grant the Negro school choir's request to appear June 1 in the DAR-owned auditorium.

Mrs. Luce was not available immediately for comment. Mrs. Talmadge said the telegram urged that the choir be permitted to appear "lest once more DARs all over the country be forced to apologize."

The organization's refusal several years ago to permit Marian Anderson, Negro singer, to appear in the hall caused a national furor. Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt resigned from the DAR as a result of the incident.

APR 25 1946
SIKESTON MO HERALD

The World This Week

A new plan to tackle Europe's terrific economic problems on a continent-wide basis, by setting up a United Nations Regional office in Geneva, has been taken to Paris by Secretary of State James Byrnes.

Representative Rankin, Mississippi Democrat, said this week he will ask the House Committee on un-American Activities to investigate the CIO Political Action Committee which he termed "a Communist front movement."

* * *

The Daughters of the American Revolution let down the bars today which kept Negro artists from appearing in its Constitution Hall in Washington and announced that the Tuskegee Institute choir would sing there June 3.

* * *

Three commercial airlines flyers crashed to fiery deaths early yesterday morning as the pilot sharply altered the course of his emergency landing to avoid hitting a house in which a family of five were sleeping. Wives of two of the flyers were waiting for them at the nearby Burbank, Calif., Airport.

Foreign ministers of the Big Four are meeting in Paris today to "remake the map of Europe" and to seek solutions to problems which caused postponement of the European peace conference.

* * *

Between twenty and thirty million children in Europe urgently need food — "the most poignant human problem in Eu-

rope today", Maurice Pate, advisor to Herbert Hoover on child food problems, said this week.

* * *

A program of universal military training is the only method by which the United States can be protected against future attacks, Gen. Jonathan M. Wainwright said in a talk in St. Louis Tuesday night.

* * *

Four Senators sought this week to settle the question of military terminal leave pay for discharged enlisted men and women with flat payments of $200 to those who served overseas and $100 to those who did not.

* * *

The cost of low-priced homes has jumped an average of 65.1 per cent since 1940, the National Housing Agency reported this week, blaming real estate inflation.

* * *

The will of General George S. Patton Jr., Third Army Commander who died Dec. 21, was admitted to probate this week and an attorney for the estate said it probably will amount to $225,000. Principal beneficiaries are his widow and three children.

* * *

A teen age sailor went suddenly berserk on a Navy LST boat in China Tuesday and in a brief and tragic rampage shot to death nine shipmates before stabbing himself. The youth was identified by the Navy as L. B. Smith, 19, of Asheville, N. C.

* * *

The Senate Finance Committee voted unanimously this week to cut the public debt limit from $300,000,000,000 to $275,000,000,000. Such action, Senator Byrd of Virginia said, would put the Treasury on a "pay-as-you-go" basis.

* * *

General Dwight D. Eisenhower, Chief of Staff, left this week for an inspection trip in the Pacific and Orient.

* * *

The United States' powerful new air force in Europe is taking shape, being built virtually from scratch following drastic demobilization. The force was down to 38,000 in mid-winter, has been built up to 50,000 now and it is planned to have 71,000 highly-trained men ready for any emergency by July 1.

TACOMA, WASH.
TIMES
Cir. D. 33,705

APR 25 1946

Constitution Hall Open to Negroes

WASHINGTON — (INS) — The Daughters of the American Revolution announced Thursday that Tuskegee Institute's choir will appear in a benefit concert June 3 in the society's Constitution hall.

The precedent-shattering performance will honor Booker T. Washington, founder of the noted Tuskegee, Ala., college for Negroes. Proceeds will go to the United Negro College fund.

Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge, DAR president general, said that use of the society's hall in Washington would be donated without charge together with the services of all employes.

On two occasions in the past, the DAR aroused a storm of protest when it invoked a rule which bars the appearance of Negro artists in Constitution hall.

JACKSON, MISS.
CLARION-LEDGER
Cir. D. 33,816 — S. 37,373

APR 25 1946

Tuskegee Choir Goes In Constitution Hall

DAR Lets Bars Down For Event

Washington, April 24 — (INS) — The Daughters of the American Revolution announced tonight that Tuskegee Institute's choir will appear in a benefit concert June 3 in the society's Constitution Hall.

The precedent-shattering performance will honor Booker T. Washington, founder of the noted Tuskegee, Ala., college for negroes. Proceeds will go to the United Negro College fund.

Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge, DAR president general, said that use of the society's Hall in Washington would be donated without charge together with the services of all employes.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt withdrew from the society when Marian Anderson, famed negro contralto, was denied a concert engagement there.

More recently the DAR refused to allow Boogie Woogie pianist Hazel Scott to engage the Hall. Miss Scott's husband, Rep. Powell (D), N. Y., appealed to President Truman to intervene.

The society contended in both cases that the Hall is a privately-owned institution and that the ban against negro artists conforms with Washington custom.

"a person so favored by the Muses, and to whom nature has been so liberal and beneficent in her dispensations." That might have been said with even greater justice today of Marian Anderson and other richly endowed artists to whom the doors of Constitution hall have been closed.

America stands today before the world as a nation which in a great war has battled against a pernicious theory and practice of race discrimination. Such discrimination is both unseemly and dangerous in this modern age.

The Tuskegee Choir is singing in various cities for the benefit of the United Negro College Fund. The support of these institutions is of the utmost importance, not only to the race immediately benefited, but to the whole body of American citizens.

NEWBURGH, N. Y.
Newburgh-Beacon News
Cir. D. 9,858

MAY 6 1946

Hall Loaned for Negro Choir

Daughters of the American Revolution are loaning their Continental Hall in Washington for the Tuskegee Institute choir for benefit of united Negro college fund. They are happy to aid in so worthy a cause, and are charging no fee. The Daughters draw the line however on concerts which obviously are promoted by publicity-seekers.

DAR President Says Clare Luce Committee Must Be Disbanded From National Society

Times-Dispatch, Richmond, Va.

Richmond Times

By James P. Hacket

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., May 23—(AP)—Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge, DAR president-general, said today after a stormy closing session of the society's fifty-fifth Continental Congress that Representative Claire Boothe Luce must disband her committee seeking deletion of a "white artists only" clause in Constitution Hall rental contracts if she wished to remain in the organization. 5-24-46

Mrs. Talmadge told reporters that if Mrs. Luce, Republican Representative from Connecticut, "remains in the society she has to abide by the rulings."

The 2,000 delegates to the congress were thrown into uproar when Mrs. E. C. Denny Vann, of Leonia, N. J., announced withdrawal of her chapter's resolution calling for deletion of the clause.

Mrs. Vann, a member of the Luce committee, told reporters later that Mrs. Luce would not dissolve the group as ordered by the congress. Mrs. Vann quoted Mrs. Luce as saying she had taken the advice of a lawyer that her committee was a "voluntary group and can be prohibited by the DAR in no way." Richmond Va.

Some delegates apparently felt Mrs. Vann would speak in favor of the resolution, reported to the congress as unfavorable by the resolutions committee. They greeted her with hisses and shouts and voted not to hear Mrs. Vann. Then there were shouts calling for "free speech" and the congress' parliamentarian ruled in favor of another vote.

Delegates applauded and cheered when Mrs. Van said her chapter was withdrawing the resolution in view of appointment of a special committee to study Constitution Hall contracts. 5-24-46

Mrs. Talmadge said in closing the congress: Those of our membership who attempt to use this society to their own selfish advantage, who stir up discord, and who try to use the DAR for politics and for publicity headlines, and who go so far as to attempt to destroy any of the splendid programs of the DAR openly or secretly, will be exposed. Rich.

"We will not be intimidated. Neither will we be stampeded. And we will fight fire with fire."

Mrs. Vann quoted Mrs. Luce as saying she was "perfectly willing to trust Mrs. Talmadge's promises to see that the special committee gives this question a fair hearing."

Mrs. Talmadge said the national board also had consulted attorneys before recommending dissolution of the Luce Committee and that it was satisfied the group was illegal. 5-24-46.

Mrs. Talmadge said she had not received a telegram from Mrs. Luce made public in New York last night. Nevertheless, she sent a message to Mrs. Luce saying:

"Your purported telegram to me as published in the morning newspapers again raises the question 'is this loyalty to the DAR?' The action of the DAR Congress in dissolving your unconstitutional committee bill be enforced if necessary." Richmond Va.

When asked if the DAR would bring expulsion proceedings against Mrs. Luce and her committee, Mrs. Talmadge said: "We probably wouldn't expell them because they'd like nothing better."

LA FAYETTE, IND.
JOURNAL & COURIER
Cir. D. 35,536

MAY 4 1946

LIFT COLOR BAN

(Philadelphia Bulletin)

In reversing their former position with regard to the appearance of Negro artists in their Constitution hall at Washington, Daughters of the American Revolution have done a wise and right thing. They have extended an invitation to the Tuskegee Institute Choir to sing in the hall early in June.

Their former position was unjustified in a representative national body of American women, and especially in an organization whose members pride themselves in their descent from men who fought to make this country free and independent.

They could have learned better from the example of a man the D. A. R. is especially bound to venerate, George Washington. The Father of his Country, on receiving some verses addressed to him by the Negro poetess, Phillis Wheatley, wrote in thanking her that he would be happy to see at his headquarters

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YAKIMA, WASH.
HERALD
Cir. D. 8,623 — S. 15,247

MAY 2 1946

A pubic resentful against race discriminations probably had as much to do as anything with the D.A.R. opening its Constitution hall in Washington, D. C., to the Tuskegee Institute choir for a benefit performance. It is hoped this marks the end of the organization's exclusion policy, which kept Negro artists from appearing in the hall. This action stood as a blot on democracy and on the meaning of the word which identifies the hall. The action of the D.A.R. in excluding Negroes from the hall brought protests from people high in public life and the publicity accompanying the D.A.R. stand for exclusion made fair-minded persons shudder.

Spartanburg, S. C.
Journal
April 25, 1946

DAR Grants Use Of Hall to Choir Of Negro School

WASHINGTON, (UP).—The Daughters of the American Revolution, waiving a long-standing ban against Negro artists, today invited the Tuskegee Institute Choir to sing in the DAR-owned Constitution Hall June 3.

Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge, Athens, Ga., DAR president general, announced that the DAR's executive committee agreed unanimously to permit the Negro singers to appear in the hall. The invitation to the Alabama School, she said, was "without strings," indicating that Negro and white members of the audience would not be segregated.

The DAR's previous refusals to permit Negro artists to perform at

Constitution Hall — the largest auditorium in Washington—had embroiled it in numerous controversies since the rule was established in 1932

Marian Anderson, famed Negro contralto, did sing there in January, 1943, after 2 previous run-ins with the DAR

Hazel Scott Gets 2nd DAR Rebuff

Afro American — Baltimore, Md.

PHILADELPHIA

Hazel Scott, one of America's foremost artists, has again been rebuffed by the reactionary Daughters of American Revolution.

For the second time within six months, the noted pianist and wife of Rep. Adam C. Powell Jr. (Dem., N.Y.), has been denied the use of Constitution Hall in Washington for a concert.

This denial was contained in a letter to Miss Scott's agent, Charles P. McClane Sr., of Steelton, Pa., from Fred Hand, managing director of the hall, after the former had requested a list of open dates for next September and October.

The Interracial Council of Pennsylvania had planned to present Miss Scott and an instrumental trio in a concert at the hall, Mr. McClane said.

Terse Rejection

In his reply, Mr. Hand rejected the request tersely, saying:

"Constitution Hall is not available for the purpose mentioned in your recent letter."

Appeals to Truman

Upon receipt of this rejection, Mr. McClane promptly appealed to President Truman, urging him to intervene with Congressional action, if necessary, in the matter.

"As a citizen in his own right," he wrote the President, "I demand to present Miss Scott in Washington, in concert housed in keeping with the dignity of her profession.

"I have no other alternative in this matter other than this appeal to you due to the fact that Miss Scott was refused the hall last year and not a mumbling word was said or any action taken to defend this un-American act.

Affects All Americans

"This is a vital matter and it definitely affects the American program for a free world, regardless of race, creed or color."

In his letter requesting the hall, Mr. McClane recalled that Mr. Hand advised him last year to secure another auditorium in Washington, but wrote:

"I feel, however, that since your officers deemed it proper that Miss Scott should not appear in Constitution Hall, the right of a minority has been infringed upon.

Change Anticipated

"I realize that you are governed by the action of your directors, but since the world is now at peace, I feel that the fellowship of man is definitely on the march, and that your organization, like the rest, will take its place in this world of democracy and promote liberal ideals."

Last fall, Miss Scott was barred from presenting a concert in the hall on the grounds that it would be contrary to prevailing customs respecting auditoriums in the District of Columbia.

Reaction After J.C.

This ban evoked demands that the tax exempt privileges be withdrawn from the hall by Congressional action.

It also led to the refusal of a number of high school students in several States to participate in the citizenship celebration sponsored by the DAR.

In the midst of the controversy, Mrs. Truman was invited to attend a social function of DAR. When she was urged to snub the affair, she attended and explained that her presence was not related to the merits of the issue.

Previous Incident

Several years ago, Marian Anderson, noted contralto, was given the same treatment received by Miss Scott. This led to the resignation of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt from the DAR.

Miss Anderson later sang before 100,000 persons on the lawn of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, at the invitation of Former Secretary of Interior Harold L. Ickes.

Sat 4-6-46

DAR Policy

Post — Washington, D.C.

There is a very curious angle to Mrs. Luce's attack upon the DAR policy regarding Constitution Hall.

The entire District of Columbia, controlled by Congress, operates on a system of separate schools, churches, restaurants, hospitals, and theaters for white and colored people. Mrs. Luce is a member of the Congress under which this system is kept operative. Constitution Hall operates on a policy common to all such establishments in the District.

Yet Mrs. Luce's attack is directed not against her colleagues in the Congress, but against a single privately financed patriotic organization. As a member of the Congress she cannot evade responsibility for the general policy under which this single institution operates.

As to your editorial chagrin at the action of the DAR in dissolving Mrs. Luce's "committee," can you imagine how far Mrs. Luce would get if she should attempt to organize a special committee in Congress without approval of the House leadership? Her "committee" would be repudiated in any body governed by orderly processes, considering the manner of its formation.

Your editorials, and Mrs. Luce's efforts, should be directed to the Congress which supports and maintains the system under which Constitution Hall operates.

American sense of fairness is also repelled by this display of "outraged virtue" against a single group, while ignoring the responsibility of the Congress for the general system under which that one group happens to be operating.

OBSERVER.

Washington.

5-23-46 Tuesday

PRIDE AND PREJUDICE
DAR Demands Race Purity and Citizenship Rights

Chicago Defender — Chicago, Ill.

The Daughters of the American Revolution this week found a formula to end race prejudice.

It was "pride" and purity.

"The creation of a race pride to keep it pure and undefiled," was advanced as a cure for race friction by Head Daughter Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge of Athens, Ga., at the 50th state conference of the National Society of the DAR held at the Drake Hotel.

Some 8,116 "undefiled" Daughters from 112 Illinois state chapters were thrilled as Mrs. Talmadge, the Society's general president, went to town on critics of the DAR's Jim Crow Constitution like Frank Sinatra on a song.

Membership Leaps

Such criticism, cried Mrs. Talmadge, "has gone far beyond racial discrimination."

DAR-rule that all artists must go in and come out of their Washington, D.C. hall lily-white has had a hectic history since it first hit Marian Anderson, noted contralto, and recently Hazel Scott, boogie-woogie pianist.

"Subversive elements," Mrs. Talmadge indicated, were really the root of the criticism.

Nevertheless the society's stand on the race issue has caused the membership to leap to an all-time high of 150,000, she said. There has been a 5,480 increase since last October.

What the DAR stands for was asserted by Mrs. Talmadge as:

"We stand for property rights, law and order and civil liberties guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. We have tolerated Communism too long in this country."

"There is no difference between Fascism, Communism and Socialism," she continued and added that the Communists aimed at taking away "the rights of the individual."

Despite vigorous protest from the Stamford, Conn., chapter of the DAR, the Society decreed that no Negro would be allowed to sing in their Constitution Hall.

The DAR has no Negro members.

Sat 3-30-46

LEADER IN D. A. R. SCORES MRS. LUCE

New York Times — N.Y., N.Y.

Mrs. Brosseau Says Action on Constitution Hall Leases Was Delayed by 'Interference'

MEETING TO CLOSE TODAY

Resolutions Urge Return to Restrictive System on Aliens

5-23-46

By LUCY GREENBAUM

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTIC CITY, May 22—If Representative Clare Boothe Luce of Connecticut had not interfered in the business of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the phrase "white artists only" would have been deleted long ago from leases for Constitutional Hall, Mrs. Grace Brosseau, chairman of the resolutions committee, declared today.

"It would have gone over like a breeze," she said.

In an interview after her second report on resolutions to the fifty-fifth continental congress of the D. A. R.—a report that did not include the reading of the resolution calling for the deletion of the phrase—Mrs. Brosseau charged that Mrs. Luce had "injected herself" into the picture, "taking the bull by the horns and bursting in."

"We're not going to take orders from Clare Luce," said Mrs. Brosseau, who was president-general of the D. A. R. from 1926 to 1929. "If some other member had introduced it, it would have gone over quietly. If some State regent, for instance, or some older woman who had been in the organization for years had suggested it, it would have been settled along ago.

"That's my chapter, that Putnam Hill Chapter, that turned Mrs. Luce down. She descended upon us with a telegram saying that if the Putnam Hill Chapter didn't protest to the national board about the clause she would resign. We told her, 'Go ahead and resign.'"

Tells of Letters Favoring Stand

Mrs. Brosseau reported that she had received a number of letters and messages from Negroes who favored the stand taken by the national board. "They don't like the fight," she asserted. "They say it has hurt their cause."

Asked why she had not introduced the resolution to delete the clause submitted by Mrs. Eugene Denny Vann of the New Jersey Polly Wyckoff Chapter, Mrs. Brosseau replied: "There are things much more vital to the organization that must be disposed of. We have plenty of resolutions opposing regimentation and socialization of government. That is much more important than any little phrase in a contract. This country comes first in my estimation."

Mrs. Brosseau said that although the resolution committee had discussed Mrs. Vann's resolution, no decision had been made as to whether it would be put to a vote on the floor. Mrs. Vann said that she was going to wait to see what happens at tomorrow's session, the final one.

"I'm 62 and I've not given up fighting yet," she said. "But sometimes you catch more flies with sugar than with vinegar."

Resolutions Urge Restrictions

Among the resolutions adopted by the convention was one urging that aliens be excluded in counting the number of persons in each State for apportionment of representatives in Congress, and another asking the "return to the selective and restrictive system built up over long years of study regarding aliens and citizenship rights and no further weakening of the immigration and naturalization laws of the United States." Other resolutions opposed legislation for the socialization of medicine and the extension of Federal aid for education.

Mrs. Stanley Thorpe Manlove of Newburgh, N. Y., recording secretary general, and Mrs. John Logan Marshall, the first vice president general, have announced their candidacies for the office of president general for next year, when the congress will be held in Washington.

Mrs. Gustav Baur, second vice regent of the Polly Wyckoff Chapter, left the convention this afternoon to return to her home so that she could be present tomorrow at the unveiling of a bust of Booker T. Washington, the first of a Negro to be placed in the Hall of Fame at New York University.

"My D. A. R. emblem will be conspicuously in evidence," she said.

5-23-46 Thurs.

The following were elected vice presidents general: Mrs. Henry W. Townsend of Kansas City, Mo.; Mrs. James Brooks Vaughn, Castlewood, S. D.; Mrs. Howard A. Latting, Colorado Springs, Colo.; Mrs. William Stark Tompkins, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.; Mrs. T. Frederick Chase, Providence, R. I.; Mrs. David E. Franch, Bluefield, W. Va.; Mrs. J. Harold Grimes, Martinsville, Ind.

Also Mrs. Ober DeWitt Warthen, Vidalia, Ga.; Mrs. George Christian Vietheer, Arlington, Va.; Mrs. Leroy Hussey, Augusta, Me.; Mrs. O. H. Crist, Danville, Ill.; Mrs. Frederick B. Ingram, Dallas, Texas; Mrs. T. H. Napier, Montevallo, Ala.; Mrs. Nathan Russell Patterson, Tulsa, Okla., and Mrs. Arno Albert Bald, Platte Center, Neb.

Luce Blamed For G.A.R. Racial Row

Courier-Journal — Louisville, Ky. — 5-25-46 Thurs.

By James P. Hackett

Associated Press Writer

Atlantic City, N. J., May 22.—A D.A.R. official today blamed Representative Clare Boothe Luce (R., Conn.) for causing a row at the society's 55th Continental Congress over the "white-artists-only" clause in Constitution Hall rental contracts and said if she had not injected herself into the matter it would have been settled quietly.

"Personally, I think it's an awkward clause and I think it could be reworded more diplomatically," Mrs. Grace L. H. Brosseau, Greenwich, Conn., national chairman of the Daughters of the American Revolution resolutions committee, told reporters.

The congress has ordered dissolution of a 17-woman "Committee Against Racial Discrimination in the Use of Constitution Hall," headed by Mrs. Luce. The committee had sought dele-

tion of the rental-contract phrase after the D.A.R. refused Negro pianist Hazel Scott permission to use the hall for a concert last fall.

'Matter of D.A.R. Policy'

"If Clare Luce had not injected herself into this, it would have been settled long ago," Mrs. Brousseau said. "The board would have acted quietly on it, if it had come from a veteran member, but the national board is not going to be dictated to by a woman who has not even attended a D.A.R. meeting."

Mrs. Brosseau said "We have had rows in the D.A.R. before, but this isn't a racial discrimination issue—it's a matter of D.A.R. policy."

Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge, Athens, Ga., president general of the D.A.R., told reporters "this matter has been given over to a special committee which will report its findings later to the national board."

Indians Barred, Too

Mrs. Brosseau's resolutions committee failed to bring to the floor today a resolution calling for deletion of the "white-artists-only" phrase which had been submitted by the Polly Wyckoff Chapter of Northern New Jersey for which Mrs. E. C. Denny Vann, Leonia, N. J., is floor spokesman.

Mrs. Vann said if the Wyckoff Chapter resolution is not brought out for action tomorrow she probably would introduce it from the floor.

"Negroes are not the only ones barred from our platform by the rental contract. The D.A.R. has carried on an extensive program to educate Indians and this Congress has appropriated funds for the work and yet a talented Indian could not appear on our platform. The contract also refuses Filipinos, some South Americans and others the right to our platform.

"The dirtiest stevedore would be welcome, but not Madame Chiang Kai-shek."

Free Immigration Opposed

Mrs. Brosseau said her committee had brought out resolutions which were important as guides to chapters for the next year's work.

The Congress approved 11 resolutions. One was a reaffirmation of the D.A.R.'s "active opposition to legislation for the socialization of medicine as now proposed" in Congress.

Another resolution appealed to President Truman and Congress to "refrain from further weakening of the immigration and naturalization laws of the United States."

DAR Bans Clare Luce's Committee

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., May 21 —(AP)— The Daughters of the American Revolution outlawed as unconstitutional today Representative Clare Boothe Luce's 17-woman committee which sought deletion of the words "white artists only" from rental contracts for the WAR's Constitution Hall at Washington.

The DAR's fifty-fifth Continental Congress approved a resolution which "orders the immediate dissolution of said unauthorized committee; and further forbids the use of the terms 'DAR' and 'Constitution Hall' by any person or group of persons now and hereafter without its expressed consent."

Shortly after the resolution was passed Mrs. E. C. Denny Vann, of Leonia, N. J., a member of the Luce committee and spokeswoman for the Polly Wyckoff DAR chapter of northern New Jersey, told reporters her delegation would "insist on consideration of our resolution" to have the "white artists only" phrase deleted from the contracts.

Mrs. Grace L. H. Brosseau, of Greenwich, Conn., chairman of the resolutions committee, told reporters her committee "isn't afraid to bring out" the Wyckoff chapter resolution for action on the congress floor, but "we're awfully busy with other things."

Mrs. Vann said the Luce committee was formed "because we were denied a mailing list," adding:

"We'd much prefer not to do DAR business in the newspapers —to wash our dirty linen every day in the week in public."

Mrs. Vann said her delegation considered itself victorious in the opening stages of the controversy because Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge, of Athens, Ga., president-general of the DAR, had announced the appointment of two committees by the National Board of Management. One committee, to study the Constitution Hall contracts, was announced by Mrs. Talmadge in her opening address to the congress. A second committee to study DAR publicity methods was named in Mrs. Talmadge's report to the congress today.

Mrs. Vann said appointment of the second committee resulted from a resolution offered by the Wyckoff chapter calling on the DAR to make available a mailing list of chapter regents to chapters proposing resolutions.

Mrs. Luce, wife of Henry Luce, editor of Time and Life, is a member of the Eunice Dennie Burr Chapter at Stamford, Conn. She was not a delegate to the congress. Her committee was formed after the DAR refused Negro pianist Hazel Scott permission to rent Constitution Hall for a concert last Fall.

Following passage of the resolution outlawing the Luce committee, the 2,000 delegates to the congress approved a statement of confidence in the Dar National Board of Management. The statement said:

"Over the course of the years there has been no reason to question the wisdom of placing the conduct of affairs in the hands of the National Board of Management." The delegated body of the National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, here assembled, expressed explicit confidence in the ability of the members of the board to reach a wise solution of any controversial question which may arise, and that they should be allowed to use their discretion to that end without restriction or directives."

The congress pased a number of other resolution. In one the society expressed "its faith in the principles and purposes for which the committee on un-American activities was established, and its belief in the service rendered to the Congress of the United States and to the people."

Another resolution put the DAR "on record as advocating action by Congress requiring all national organizations of whatever kind, which collect moneys and conduct programs affecting the public welfare, to file annual reports with the Department of Justice, setting forth the year's activities giving account of moneys collected, and naming officers and directors thereof."

Fight Against Bias in DAR Dropped

Resolution Withdrawn by Volunteer Group

PROBE AWAITED

Minority Champions Attacked at Congress

ATLANTIC CITY — The fight for elimination of the "white artists only" clause in the rental leases for Constitution Hall in Washington was dropped at the closing session of the 55th Continental Congress of the Daughters of the American Revolution here on Thursday.

Mrs. Elizabeth E. Denny Vann of Leonia, N.J., Southern-born head of the Polly Wyckoff Chapter of Bergen County, who announced withdrawal of the resolution, said that she felt that its purpose had been achieved.

Explaining, Mrs. Vann, who led the fight during the four-day session, declared that the resolution was withdrawn inasmuch as a committee had been appointed to study the problem.

Reasons for Opening Hall

When Mrs. Vann sought the floor, opposition was almost overwhelming, and she was given permission to speak only after a plea by Miss Jeanette Dentler of Portland, Ore.

Addressing the 2,000 convention delegates, Mrs. Vann said that Constitution Hall should be opened to artists of all races alike for the following reasons:

"Because the DAR is a Christian organization, because it endorses the principles of the United Nations, which call for abolition of racial discrimination, and because the DAR itself does not discriminate in its welfare activities.

Anti-Bias Group Hit

Earlier, the resolutions committee had made an unfavorable report on the anti-bias resolution offered by the Wyckoff Chapter on behalf of itself and chapters in Virginia and Northeastern States comprising the Committee Against Discrimination in Constitution Hall.

Spearheaded by Mrs. Vann and Rep. Clare Boothe Luce, the committee had as its secretary, Dr. Maenna Chesterton-Mangle, who was selected because she was not a member of the DAR.

Ordered to Disband

Later, following the close of the convention, Mrs. Talmadge told reporters that if Mrs. Luce wished to remain in the DAR she would have to disband the committee and abide by DAR rulings.

However, Mrs. Vann said during her press conference that disbandment was not being considered and quoted Mrs. Luce as having said that a lawyer had advised her that since the committee is a voluntary group it cannot be prohibited by the DAR.

Mrs. Luce, who resigned from one DAR chapter in protest after Hazel Scott was refused permission to appear at Constitution Hall, was criticized severely for her intervention during the dispute.

Won't Take Orders

Among her critics was Mrs. Grace L. H. Brosseau of Greenwich, Conn., chairman of the resolutions committee, who insisted that the controversial clause would have been deleted "like a breeze" had it not been for the Congresswoman's interference.

Asserting that "our women are all reasonable and want to do the right thing," Mrs. Brosseau, honorary president general, said further, "We are not going to take orders from Mrs. Luce."

It was said by some later that after the convention fades, the 7-man investigating committee could recommend revision or elimination of the "white artists only" clause and the DAR could act without bowing to Mrs. Luce.

A member of the chapter which refused to adopt a resolution challenging the national body at the Congresswoman's request, Mrs. Brosseau declared that instead of concerning itself with a mere contract the DAR is considering larger things.

Although the question of the expulsion of Mrs. Luce and the committee was raised, Mrs. Talmadge told the press, "We probably wouldn't expel them, because they'd like nothing better."

Reviewing the question involving Constitution Hall, Mrs. Talmadge, citing the separate schools, theatres and restaurants in the Capital, stated that only the Congress of the United States could change the customs.

Furthermore, she added that although "we, as an organization, are in accord with any individual, regardless of birth or color, who wishes to keep step with progress, we would naturally hesitate to assume the role of dictators to the lawmakers of the land."

Then explaining the invitation to the Tuskegee choir for June 3, she denied that the anti-bias committee had obtained any victory, insisting that the decision belonged to the DAR executive committee alone.

"DAR Opportunity"

I take exception to your editorial policy against the DAR, the latest expression of which appeared May 22 under the caption, "DAR Opportunity."

I have never ceased to be grateful to the DAR for providing a commodious, excellently arranged and nicely appointed hall as a welcome substitute for that monstrosity, formerly know as the Washington Auditorium.

My understanding is that the DAR built Constitution Hall with gifts obtained exclusively within the organization, and that no outside appeal for funds was made. The hall is rightfully the property of the DAR. The society has been most generous and civic-minded in placing it at the disposal of other groups, charging rental in certain cases.

In your editorial you again make reference to the "tax exemption enjoyed by Constitution Hall." An arrangement, which apparently was quite satisfactory to the District of Columbia tax officials, was reached three or four years ago whereby the DAR agreed to pay taxes on the rental income of the hall when used for commercial purposes. And yet you endeavor to give your readers the impression that not one cent in taxes is paid by the organization at any time.

This letter is not designed to discuss the pros and cons of the racial question. However editorials as the one under reference do more to foment cleavage and strife in this city than does the adherence to a well thought-out policy by a board whose decisions pertaining to the use and disposition of private property which it manages are truly American and within the law.

The DAR continues to enjoy the respect and high esteem of millions of right-thinking Americans. The organization does not have to try to regain what it has not lost.

THOMAS G. SPENCE.

Washington.

Editor's Note: By specific act of Congress on September 16, 1922, the property known as Constitution Hall was exempted from the payment of real estate taxes to the District of Columbia, although a portion of the gate receipts are paid to the District when the hall is put to commercial use.

D. A. R. Editorial Commended

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

We are writing to commend your editorial of May 24 criticizing the D. A. R. for their stand against the proposal to allow Constitution Hall, which they own, in Washington, to be used by gifted Negro and Oriental artists instead of being restricted to whites only.

Your editorial comment goes straight to the point, but it seems to us that you could well have gone further. In demanding the immediate disbanding of the group within the D. A. R. formed to combat the ban on Negro artists the D. A. R. members became present-day proponents of a counter-revolution against democratic processes. Surely members of an organization should have a right to try to change the policy of their organization, unless it is a completely totalitarian group.

Finally, we think you should have given editorial support to the proposal to withdraw tax exemption from the D. A. R.'s Constitution Hall as long as the ban on all other artists but whites is maintained.

ALFRED BAKER LEWIS,
FRANK R. CROSSWAITH,
Negro Labor Committee.

New York, May 29, 1946.

ELYRIA, O.
CHRONICLE-TELEGRAM
Circ. D. 13,778
APR 29 1946

Making Progress

The Vermont University Chapter of Alpha XI Delta Sorority invited a young Negro woman student to become a member. National officers of the sorority ordered the invitation withdrawn and have disciplined the chapter.

In some quarters (including the Communist) there are attempts to give this incident a sinister significance which, we think, it hardly merits.

Wise Negroes will not be greatly distressed because a member of their race has been denied admission to a purely social organization of white college girls, which is what Alpha XI Delta is. The equality they want is not that kind. They want, and should have, assurance that racial prejudice shall not deny fair opportunity for and recognition of Negro achievements of mind and character, talent and skill.

Certainly there is room for vastly more progress in that respect. But we would point out that Phi Beta Kappa, oldest of all American college fraternities, and most distinguished because admission to it depends on scholarship, has long honored itself by welcoming Negroes to membership. And news items in the same papers that tell of the Vermont University incident also reveal these happier events:

Dr. Alain Leroy Locke, Negro professor of philosophy at Howard University in Washington, has just been unanimously elected president of the American Assn. for Adult Education, the first member of his race thus to be honored. Dr. Ira de A. Reid, head of the sociology department at Atlanta University, has just been appointed the first visiting professor of Negro culture and education at New York University's School of Education. Mrs. Thomasina W. Johnson, formerly of Boston, has just been named chief of the minority groups section, U. S. Employment Service, her $7,715 salary making her the highest-paid Negro woman in the federal government.

And the Daughters of the American Revolution have just invited the Tuskegee Institute choir to use their Constitutional Hall in Washington, free of charge, for a June concert, which may—and we hope does—presage reversal of the DAR policy that heretofore has closed the great auditorium to most Negro artists.—New York World Telegram.

* * * * * * * *

The happiest conversation is that of which nothing is distinctly remembered, but a general effect of pleasing impression.—Johnson.

* * * * * * * *

Good-nature is more agreeable in conversation than wit, and gives a certain air to the countenance which is more amiable than beauty.—Joseph Addison.

* * * * * * * *

Praise too dearly lov'd, or warmly sought, Enfeebles all internal strength of thought.—Goldsmith.

DANVILLE, VA.
BEE
Circ. D. 13,113
MAY 14 1946

The Negro's Social Gains

The rapid advancement of the colored race in this country has been frequently a matter of comment during recent years. The negro is moving forward swiftly now in what appears to be a rapidly changing public outlook towards the social standing of the race and towards appointment to positions of trust.

During the past three weeks the negroes have proclaimed five "triumphs" which are worth denoting as symbolic of the new social advance.

The Daughters of the American Revolution who declined to let Hazel Scott play some time ago in Constitution Hall have, at the request of Representative Clare Luce Booth changed their outlook entirely. In June the Tuskegee Institute choir will be allowed to give a performance.

With almost the same breath the American Association of Adult Education,—long recognized as formative in American educational matters, has just elected a negro as its president—Dr. Alain Locke and the University Chapter of Alpha XI Delta, a national undergraduate sorority group has just pledged Crystal Malone of Washington, a negro, as a member—the first colored member to be taken in.

A negro woman has been proclaimed the Mother of America this year and a negro has just been appointed to govern the Virgin Islands.

If the social relationship between the white and colored races has been regarded as a difficult and a delicate problem, it seems now to be disappearing from the United States as a perplexing issue.

"WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS"

If the Daughters of the American Revolution did not lay claim to an uncommon devotion to the nation's traditions and if they did not call their edifice in Washington Constitution Hall, they would face much less criticism for their reluctance to permit concerts by Negro musicians in the said hall. Segregation in Washington is a fact, though the only phase of it for which the federal government is responsible is the maintenance of separate schools. Hotels, restaurants, theaters and concert halls customarily discriminate. It may be, as Mrs. Julius Young Talmadge, the D. A. R.'s president-general, said the other day at the Atlantic City convention, that "these customs were carefully worked out as best suited for existing conditions and conducive to the greatest happiness and peace for all." But it was not the Negroes who worked them out.

The D. A. R. is not called upon to reform the customs of Washington or of the nation. It does seem, though, that it would be truer to the American ideals it purports to represent—and often does represent—if it would hold out the same welcome to gifted Negroes that it does to gifted persons of other races. Negroes have fought as valiantly as whites in all our wars. One of them, Crispus Attucks, fell in the Boston Massacre. His feminine descendants, if he had any, would be literally daughters of the Revolution. We think those daughters, including Mrs. Clare Booth Luce, who have protested against "racial discrimination in Constitution Hall" are the ones who are loyal to the spirit of the Declaration of Independence. We hope they win out. We think many of the signers, slave-holders though they were in their time, would stand with Mrs. Luce. The best of them never believed that progress in human relations would end in 1776 or 1787.—New York Times.

DAR Bias Clause Causes Discord

THE recent Daughters of the American Revolution's 55th Continental Congress, while in session at Atlantic City, N. J., was beset by internal discord, as a result of the organization's "white artists only" rule for the use of Constitution Hall in Washington, D. C.

Spearheading the movement to delete the offensive clause, for the purpose of severing the DAR's discriminatory stranglehold, was Representative CLARE BOOTH LUCE, Republican, Connecticut, who headed a 17-woman committee. In spite of the fact that the group's action, from all indications, resulted in failure for the time being, the efforts exerted by the committee, nevertheless, appear well worthwhile. The DAR's narrow attitude towards minorities and obvious efforts to forestall progressivism, were brought into clear focus.

On the matter of the organization's attitude towards minorities, a statement made by Mrs. E. C. DENNY VANN of Leonia, N. J., floor spokesman for the POLLY WYCKOFF Chapter is significant.

"Negroes," she stated, "are not the only ones barred from our platform by the rental contract. The DAR has carried on an extensive program to educate Indians and this congress has appropriated funds for the work and yet, a talented Indian could not appear on our platform. The contract also refuses Filipinos, some South Americans, and others the right to our platform.

"The dirtiest stevedore would be welcome, but not Madame CHIANG KAISHEK."

Thus, from all indications, we have a clear-cut interpretation of DAR's policy toward not only Negroes, but other minorities. Only MARIAN ANDERSON, among Negro artists (and on a compromise basis) has been permitted to sing in Constitution Hall until this week, when the DAR temporarily relaxed its regulations to allow the appearance of the Tuskegee Choir.

The DAR contended that if Mrs. LUCE had not injected herself into the move to delete the clause, the matter "would have been settled" long ago. We doubt this. Only recently has the body seriously considered deletion of the clause. The change of attitude is traceable only to the rising wave of national sentiment against the DAR's unAmerican practice.

It is hoped that concrete liberal action, worthy of an august organization will soon be taken by the DAR.

MUSKEGON, MICH.
CHRONICLE
Circ. D. 34,408
MAY 1 1946

The DAR Yields.

The Daughters of the American Revolution have relaxed their ban against the appearance of negro artists in Constitution hall in Washington. The Tuskegee Institute choir will give a benefit concert there June 3. That is a most hopeful and encouraging sign. Less than a year ago the DAR refused to rent the hall to a negro singer.

Let us hope that this means the end of race discrimination in the management of the hall and the attitude of the DAR. It may be some years before the South will yield, as it must yield eventually. In the meantime this apparent change of attitude in Washington, the capital of the nation, is most encouraging.

NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.
TIMES
Circ. D. 419,447 - S. 805,967

MAY 17 1946

D. A. R. Convention Is Facing Row On Negro Ban at Constitution Hall

Resolutions Committee to Shun Clause on 'White Artists' Only, but Opponents Will Bring It Up on the Floor

Although a resolution to delete the "white artists only" clause from the lease of Constitution Hall in Washington, owned by the Daughters of the American Revolution, has been submitted to the resolutions committee of the D. A. R. for action at the fifty-fifth annual convention, the committee does not intend to bring up the controversial question, Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge, president-general of the D. A. R., revealed yesterday.

Mrs. Talmadge said in Atlantic City, where the executive committee was in session, that the D. A. R. was planning no action on the clause at the convention, which will open there on Monday.

"We're not anticipating any trouble," she said.

A resolutuion urging the abolition of the clause was submitted by Mrs. E. C. Denny Vann of the Polly Wyckoff Chapter, N. J., a member of the Committee Against Racial Discrimination in Constitution Hall. D. A. R. members of the committee include Representative Clare Boothe Luce of the Eunice Dennie Burr Chapter in Connecticut.

This committee issued a statement yesterday saying that a resolution to delete the clause would be brought to the floor. Dr. Maenna Cheserton-Mangle, secretary of the committee, reported that such a resolution had been sent to the D. A. R. with the sanction of the committee. Dr. Cheserton-Mangle is not a member of the D. A. R.

Mrs. Talmadge admitted the resoluution had been sent. She referred to the committee as "an unconstitutional, illegal committee."

"I think they would like to know what we are going to do at the convention," Mrs. Talmadge said.

Dr. Cheserton-Mangle expressed fear that the resolution would be tabled.

"That is always a difficulty," she said. "We hope that nothing will happen, but there are many little loopholes. We feel, however, that there are a majority of women there who will be in favor of the resolution. Hundreds of chapters have sent in resolutions urging the deletion."

The statement sent out by the committee declared that "the claim that discrimination in Constitution Hall is required by the laws of the District of Columbia is utterly false. Discrimination is a custom but not a law of the District."

Dr. Cheserton-Mangle said that the only reason that the D. A. R. has granted permission to the Tuskegee choir to sing in Constitution Hall on June 3 was because the committee threatened to take action if permission were not granted; and the D. A. R., fearing public opinion, complied.

The statement, which was approved by the sixteen D. A. R. members of the committee, also charged that Mrs. Talmadge had dropped "an iron curtain" between the D. A. R. and public opinion as a result of the letter she sent to the regents of the 3,000 chapters throughout the country last October requesting them not to discuss the matter in public.

Referring to this as "a hush-hush policy," the committee said: "This undemocratic procedure has prevented the rank and file from finding out not only how the public felt about their leadership's attitudes but also has had the effect of preventing those who disagreed with the leadership from getting in touch with one another to resist it."

Dr. Cheserton-Mangle is a writer on inter-racial questions and editor of religious and education material for the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

"We deliberately chose as secretary someone who was not a member so that she would be objective and not biased," said Mrs. Robert P. Boynton of the John Jay Chapter in New York. The headquarters of the committee are at 535 Fifth Avenue.

MEDFORD, ORE.
MAIL-TRIBUNE
Cir. D. 8,357—S. 8,392

APR 25 1946

D. A. R. WAIVES BAN ON NEGRO ARTISTS

Washington, April 25—(U.P.)—The Daughters of the American Revolution, waiving a long-standing ban against negro artists, today invited the Tuskegee Institute choir to sing in the DAR-owned Constitution Hall June 3.

Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge, Athens, Ga., DAR president general, announced that the DAR's executive committee agreed unanimously to permit the negro singers to appear in the hall. The invitation to the Alabama school, she said, was "without strings," indicating that negro and white members of the audience would not be segregated.

The DAR's previous refusal to permit negro artists to perform at Constitution Hall—the largest auditorium in Washington—had embroiled it in numerous controversies since the rule was established in 1932.

NEW YORK, N. Y.
SUN
Circ. D. 277,172

MAY 20 1946

D. A. R. MAY ACT ON RACIAL BAN

Change in Lease Clause Offered to Convention.

Atlantic City, May 20 (A. P.).—The Daughters of the American Revolution gathered in hotel lobbies before the opening of their Fifty-fifth Continental Congress today and the talk mostly was about the move to erase the "white artists only" clause from commercial leases for their 4,000 seat constitutional hall in Washington, D. C.

A seventeen-woman committee had taken the step to permit Negro entertainers to appear in commercial programs at the D. A. R.'s famous hall. They had submitted to the resolutions committee, a recommendation that the words "white artists only," instituted in 1932, be deleted in future leases. The showdown was expected tomorrow or Wednesday.

Representative Clare Boothe Luce (R.-Conn.), a member of the committee submitting the resolution, said in a radio address last February that she did not believe that the D. A. R. intended racial discrimination but that continuation of the clause might give the Daughters a black eye. She is a member of the D. A. R., but not a delegate to the Congress. Six of the seventeen on the committee are delegates.

Much Controversy.

There has been much controversy over the clause. At one time, Marian Anderson, Negro contralto, had been barred from appearing in Constitution Hall. In 1943, however, at the invitation of the D. A. R. she gave a benefit performance in the hall. An official of the Congress said that the Negro Tuskegee Institute Choir was scheduled to sing at the hall next month.

Recently Hazel Scott, Negro pianist, was refused permission to present a concert in the hall. Shortly afterwards the D. A. R.'s executive committee and national board issued this statement:

"Rules of management for Constitutional Hall were drawn up in accordance with the prevailing custom of the District of Columbia regarding schools, auditoriums, theaters, hotels, restaurants, club, canteens, playgrounds, &c. One such ruling contains these words—'that the words "white artists only" be added to the leases for use of Constitutional Hall.'"

After Government seizure of Washington public buildings for wartime purposes only Constitutional Hall was left in the city for accommodation of large crowds.

ROME, GA.
NEWS-TRIBUNE
Circ. D. 7,139 — S. 7,305

APR 25 1946

Tuskegee Choir Granted Use of DAR Auditorium

WASHINGTON, April 25.—(AP)—The Tuskegee Institute choir will present a concert June 3 in Constitution Hall, from which the Daughters of the American Revolution long have barred Negro artists.

Permission for the choir to use the hall, which is owned by the DAR and is the only large auditorium here suitable for concerts, was granted through unanimous action by members of the executive committee whose decisions were polled by telegraph.

Gratitude to the DAR officials "for their considered and generous action" was expressed by President F. D. Patterson of Tuskegee Institute at Tuskegee, Ala.

He explained that the concert would honor the late Booker T. Washington, who founded the Institute.

The refusal of the DAR to allow Negro artists to appear in the hall in the past has aroused several controversies, the most notable of which occurred several years ago when the Negro contralto Marian Anderson was denied the use of the hall. She subsequently sang from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial.

The Tuskegee choir will sing in Washington in the course of a tour beginning May 23 in New York.

DAR officials did not indicate whether the action signified complete abandonment of the old policy, or was just an exception.

Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge, President General, said the use of the hall was being granted without charge for the Tuskegee group's concert which will be for the benefit of the United Negro College Fund.

"This is a most worthy undertaking," she said, "and we will help in every way to make it a splendid financial success."

NORWICH, CONN.
BULLETIN
Cir. D. 18,703

APR 27 1946

DAR GRANTS USE OF HALL TO NEGRO CHOIR

WASHINGTON, April 24—(AP)—The Daughters of the American Revolution today let down the bars which had kept Negro artists from appearing in its Constitution hall here in the past and announced that the Tuskegee Institute choir would sing there June 3.

The use of the hall was granted without charge for the concert. The proceeds will go to the United Negro College fund. The choir will appear in the course of a tour of several cities starting in New York on May 23.

Whether the DAR action in this case represents a reversal of previous policy was not disclosed. A statement by Mrs. Julius Y. Talmade, president general, said, "this is a most worthy undertaking and we will help in every way to make it a splendid financial success."

Rep. Luce (r-Conn.) recently called upon the DAR to make the hall available for the benefit. Mrs. Talmadge replied that the Tuskegee request was being considered and that Mrs. Luce's letter would not affect the decision.

UPPER SANDUSKY, O.
CHIEF-UNION
Cir. D. 4,292

MAY 8 - 1946

THEY HAVE REFORMED THEMSELVES

We read with a great deal of satisfaction that the choir of Tuskegee Institute is to appear in Constitution Hall, Washington, in a concert, June 3. The news story goes on to tell that the long pressure and criticism from the public has brought about a change of policy in the Daughters of the American Revolution in charge of the hall.

Another story, however, states no announcement has been made whether this is an exception, and that a special allowance has been made for this choir, or whether from now on the ban is lifted against Negro artists use of the hall. It is refreshing to have an opportunity to speak a word of praise for an organization that is outstanding in its ideals toward patriotism. Let us hope this appearance of this capable choir will mark the beginning of a new policy that will meet with commendation generally—at least throughout the North.

Tuskegee Institute has won for itself a name over the nation for sending out well trained young people of the colored race, students who are capable, artists who have dignity and poise and who will give programs as pleasing as those of the more favored white race. The public does need to recognize that it takes time to bring about a change of sentiment and custom, and the city of Washington, which should be an example of open democracy, in its social customs has been far from that, especially on the race question.

D. C. (DAR)

18, 1946
DES MOINES, IA. REGISTER
516

Mrs Luce Backs Negro Bid for Hall, D.A.R. Irked

WASHINGTON, D. C. (AP)—Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge, president general of the Daughter of the American Revolution, said Wednesday that "pressure" by Representative Clare Boothe Luce (Rep., Conn.) was hindering the Tuskegee Institute choir in its request to appear in Constitution hall.

MRS. TALMADGE.

Mrs. Talmadge said she received a telegram from Mrs. Luce as spokesman for the "D.A.R. Committee Against Racial Discrimination in Constitution Hall," urging that the D.A.R. national board grant the Negro choir's request to appear June 1 in the D.A.R.-owned auditorium.

Mrs. Luce was not available for comment. Mrs. Talmadge said the telegram urged that the choir be permitted to appear "lest once more D.A.R.s all over the country are forced to apologize."

The organization's refusal several years ago to permit Marian Anderson, Negro singer, to appear in the hall caused a national furore. Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt resigned from the D.A.R. as a result of the incident.

Mrs. Talmadge telegraphed a reply to Mrs. Luce, which said in part:

"Tuskegee institute and its founder (Booker T. Washington) stand high in the esteem of every American, and since the request was received last week we have been endeavoring to work out ways and means to have the choir appear in Constitution hall.

"Your antagonistic message, however, with its threats and un-American insinuations, has seriously complicated the matter. If this request can be granted, it will be, not because of your interference, your intimidating phrases, but in spite of them."

HACKENSACK, N. J.
BERGEN RECORD
Circ. D. 31,085

MAY 20 1946

D.A.R. Meets Facing Revolt On Its 'White Only' Clause

Atlantic City, May 20 (AP)—The daughters of the American Revolution gathered in hotel lobbies before the opening of their 55th Continental Congress today, and the talk mostly was about the move to erase the "white artists only" clause from commercial leases for their 4,000-seat Constitutional Hall in Washington, D. C.

A 17-woman committee of which Mrs. Elizabeth C. Denny Vann of Leonia is a member had taken the step to permit Negro entertainers to appear in commercial programs at the D. A. R.'s famous hall. They had submitted to the resolutions committee a recommendation that the words "white artists only", instituted in 1932, be deleted in future leases.

Most of the 2,000 delegates wondered vocally: "Would the resolutions committee bring the proposal to the floor of the Congress which gets underway tonight after a pre-Congress national defense meeting? Or would the resolution be tabled? And then would a member of the 17-woman committee introduce it on the floor of the Congress?

The showdown was expected tomorrow or Wednesday.

Representative Clare Boothe Luce (R., Conn.), a member of the committee submitting the resolution said in a radio address last February that she did not believe the D. A. R. intended racial discrimination but that continuation of the clause might give the Daughters a black eye. She added:

"Daughters of the American Revolution don't think the blood which they have inherited from their ancestors makes them one jot or tittle better citizens."

Mrs. Luce, wife of Henry Luce, Time and Life editor, is a member of the D. A. R., but not a delegate to the Congress. Six of the 17 on the committee are delegates.

There has been much controversy over the clause. At one time Marian Anderson, the great Negro contralto, had been banned from appearing in Constitutional Hall. In 1943, however, at the invitation of the D. A. R., she gave a benefit performance in the hall. An official of the Congress said the Negro Tuskegee Institute choir is scheduled to sing at the hall next month.

Recently Hazel Scott, Negro pianist, was refused permission to present a concert in the hall. Shortly afterwards the D. A. R.'s executive committee and national board issued this statement:

"Rules of management for Constitutional Hall were drawn up in accordance with the prevailing custom of the District of Columbia regarding schools, auditoriums, theaters, hotels, restaurants, clubs, canteens, playgrounds, etc. One such ruling contains these words: 'that the words "white artists only" be added to the leases for use of Constitutional Hall.'"

After Government seizure of Washington public buildings for wartime purposes only Constitutional Hall was left in the city for accommodation of large crowds.

The exact wording of the proposed resolution by the committee of 17 was not made public.

PASSAIC, N. J.
HERALD-NEWS
Circ. D. 40,948

MAY 20 1946

DAR Weights End of Ban On Negroes

Dispute Over Use Of Constitution Hall Features Convention

ATLANTIC CITY (AP) — The Daughters of the American Revolution gathered in hotel lobbies before the opening of their 35th Continental Congress today and the talk mostly was about the move to erase the "white artists only" clause from commercial leases for their 4,000-seat Constitutional Hall in Washington, D. C.

A 17-woman committee had taken the step to permit Negro entertainers to appear in commercial programs at the DAR's hall. They had submitted to the resolutions committee a recommendation that the words "white artists only", instituted in 1932, be deleted.

Showdown Near

The showdown was expected tomorrow or Wednesday.

Rep. Clare Boothe Luce (R-Conn.), a member of the committee submitting the resolution, had said in a radio address last February that she did not believe the DAR intended racial discrimination but that continuation of the clause might give the Daughters "a black eye". She added:

"Daughters of the American Revolution don't think the blood which they have inherited from their ancestors makes them one jot or tittle better citizens."

Mrs. Luce is a member of the DAR but not a delegate to the congress. Six of the seventeen on the committee are delegates.

There has been much controversy over the clause. At one time Marian Anderson, Negro contralto, had been banned from appearing in Constitution Hall. In 1943, however, at the invitation of the DAR she gave a benefit performance in the hall. An official of the congress said the Negro Tuskegee Institute choir was scheduled to sing at the hall next month.

Permission Refused

Recently Hazel Scott, Negro pianist, was refused permission to present a concert in the hall. Shortly afterwards the DAR's executive committee and national board issued this statement:

"Rules of management for Constitutional Hall were drawn up in accordance with the prevailing custom of the District of Columbia regarding schools, auditoriums, theatres, hotels, restaurants, clubs, canteens, playgrounds, etc. One such ruling contains these words—'that the words "white artists only" be added to the leases for use of Constitutional Hall'."

After government seizure of Washington public buildings for wartime purposes only Constitutional Hall was left in the city for accommodation of large crowds.

Members Listed

The exact wording of the proposed resolution by the committee of seventeen was not made public. Members of the committee, in addition to Mrs. Luce, are:

Mrs. J. W. Dixon, Newport News, Va.; Lucille Green, 64 Lafayette Avenue, Passaic; Mrs. Richard P. Hatfield, Fanwood; Mrs. E. Orne Krebs, Hagerstown, Md.; Mrs. Charles H. Roberts, Westfield; Mrs. Theodore D. Robinson, Mowhawk, N. Y.; Mrs. E. C. Denny Vann, Leonia; Mrs. Claude C. Van Nuys, Greenwich, Conn.; Mrs. Robert P. Boynton, New York; Mrs. A. B. Hine, Jr., Pittsburgh; Mrs. W. C. McGaffic, Paterson; Helen M. McWilliams, Brooklyn; Mrs. C. S. Maddock, Jr., Trenton; Mrs. Percy B. Trassburger, Montclair; and Helen Whittier, Nottingham, N. H. The 17th member was Dr. Mae-anna Chesterton-Mangle, committee secretary, but not a member of the DAR.

Local Women Present

Mrs. Timothy C. Lucas, Mrs. Reginald H. Morgan and Mrs. William H. Steinberg, of Passaic, and Mrs. John Peper and Mrs. Louis Kievit, of Clifton, are attending the Congress as delegates of Acquackanonk Landing Chapter, Passaic.

Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge of Georgia, will make her first appearance before the Congress as president.

In addition to the regular meetings, the Passaic group will attend a round table breakfast at the Hotel Dennis, tomorrow morning, to be given by Mrs. Raymond C. Goodfellow, of Maplewood, former DAR State Regent of New Jersey.

Mrs. Joseph Grundy, of Passaic, State DAR chairman of Juniors, also attended the Junior Committee National Congress over the week-end.

NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J.
HOME NEWS
Circ. D. 20,502

MAY 20 1946

D.A.R. Members Discuss Removal of Clause 'White Artists Only' From Leases for Hall

ATLANTIC CITY, May 20 (AP)—The Daughters of the American Revolution gathered in hotel lobbies before the opening of their 55th Continental Congress today and the talk mostly was about the move to erase the "white artists only" clause from commercial leases for their 4,000-seat Constitution Hall in Washington, D. C.

A 17-woman committee had taken the step to permit Negro entertainers to appear in commercial programs at the D. A. R.'s famous hall. They had submitted to the resolutions committee a recommendation that the worlds "white artists only," instituted in 1932, be deleted in future leases.

Most of the 2,000 delegates wondered vocally. Would the resolutions committee bring the proposal to the floor of the Congress which gets underway tonight after a pre-Congress national defense meeting? Or would the resolution be tabled? And then, would a member of the 17-woman committee introduce it on the floor of the Congress?

The showdown was expected tomorrow or Wednesday.

Rep. Clare Boothe Luce (R-Conn.), a member of the committee submitting the resolution, had said in a radio address last February that she did not believe the D. A. R. intended racial discrimination but that continuation of the clause might give the Daughters "a black eye." She added:

"Daughters of the American Revolution don't think the blood which they have inherited from their ancestors makes them one jot or tittle better citizens."

Mrs. Luce, wife of Henry Luce, Time and Life editor, is a member of the D. A. R., but not a delegate to the Congress. Six of the 17 on the committee are delegates.

There has been much controversy over the clause. At one time Marian Anderson, the great Negro contralto, had been banned from appearing in Constitution Hall. In 1943, however, at the invitation of the D. A. R., she gave a benefit performance in the hall. An official of the Congress said the Negro Tuskegee Institute Choir was scheduled to sing at the hall next month.

Recently Hazel Scott, Negro pianist, was refused permission to present a concert in the hall. Shortly afterwards the D. A. R.'s executive committee and national board issued this statement:

Rule Applies Throughout D. C.

"Rules of management for Constitution Hall were drawn up in accordance with the prevailing custom of the District of Columbia regarding schools, auditoriums, theatres, hotels, restaurants, clubs, canteens, playgrounds, etc. One such ruling contains these words—'That the words "white artists only" be added to the leases for use of Constitution Hall'."

After government seizure of Washington public buildings for wartime purposes only Constitution Hall was left in the city for accommodation of large crowds.

The exact wording of the proposed resolution by the committee of 17 was not made public. Members of the committee, in addition to Mrs. Luce are:

Mrs. J. W. Dixon, Newport News, Va.; Lucille Green, Passaic, N. J.; Mrs. Richard P. Hatfield, Fanwood, N. J.; Mrs. E. Orne Krebs, Hagerstown, Md.; Mrs. Charles H. Roberts, Westfield, N. J.; Mrs. Theodore D. Robinson, Mohawk, N. Y.; Mrs. E. C. Denny Vann, Leonia, N. J.; Mrs. Claude C. Van Nuys, Greenwich, Conn.; rMs. Robert P. Boynton, New York; rMs. A. B. Hine Jr., Pittsburgh; Mrs. W. C. McGaffic, Paterson, N. J.; Helen M. McWilliams, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Mrs. C. S. Maddock Jr., Trenton, N. J.; Mrs. Percy B. Trassburger, Montclair, N. J.; and Helen Whittier, Nottingham, N. H. The 17th member was Dr. Maeanna Chesterton-Mangle, committee secretary, but not a member of the D. A. R.

a telegram to Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge, D.A.R. president general, had asked for a "prompt and favorable reply" to a demand that the Tuskegee choir be permitted to use Constitution Hall. At that time, Mrs. Talmadge accused Mrs. Luce of trying to incite a "revolt" against herself and the national board.

YONKERS, N. Y.
HERALD-STATESMAN
Circ. D. 26,873

APR 25 1946

D.A.R. Votes To Allow Negro Benefit In Hall

WASHINGTON—The national executive committee of the American Revolution has reported a unanimous vote to permit the Tuskegee Institute Choir to sing in Constitution Hall on Monday night, June 3, with the proceeds to go to the United Negro College Fund.

Representative Clare Booth Luce, Connecticut Republican, in

NEWARK, N. J.
NEWS
Circ. D. 203,861

MAY 17 1946

D.A.R. Still Faces Race Issue Fight

Foes of 'White Artists' Rule at Constitution Hall Stick to Guns

The fight to delete the "white artists only" clause from the leases of the D. A. R.'s Constitution Hall in Washington will be continued next year if it does not succeed at the national convention which will open Monday in Atlantic City.

This statement was made today by Mrs. Richard P. Hatfield of Fanwood after announcement by Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge, president-general of the D. A. R., that the resolutions committee does not intend to bring the controversy before the national gathering.

Mrs. Hatfield is a member of the Committee Against Racial Discrimination in Constitution Hall, organized by Representative Clare Boothe Luce, herself a member of the D. A. R. The Fanwood woman is vice regent of Scotch Plains Chapter, D. A. R.

Still Expect Action

A spot check of DAR members in North Jersey revealed several who still believe controversy will be brought before the national convention next week, although none were willing to be quoted. One who is widely acquainted with the membership in this area expressed belief the majority would be willing to open the hall to Negro artists of high caliber.

Some asserted a considerable number of members are "on the fence" not from any anti-Negro feeling as from dislike of being embroiled in public controversy. One member said she had been given to understand that southern members who did not object to individual Negro artists appearing in the hall nevertheless upheld the restriction to avoid mingling of Negroes and white persons in the audience.

Mrs. Charles H. Roberts of the Scotch Plains Chapter, who is state chairman of junior American citizenship, said she felt the recent opening of Constitution Hall to the Tuskegee Institute Choir was "only a gesture." The restricting clause should be definitely eliminated, she said. Mrs. Roberts also is a member of the committee against discrimination.

Another Jersey woman on the anti-discrimination committee is Mrs. E. C. Denny Vann of Leonia, a member of the Polly Wyckoff Chapter which last Fall voted to censure the National DAR for its refusal to permit use of the auditorium by Hazel Scott, Negro pianist. Mrs. Vann could not be reached today.

CHATTANOOGA, TENN.
NEWS-FREE PRESS
Circ. D. 51,622

APR 25 1946

DAR Invites Negro Singers To Washington

WASHINGTON, April 25 (UP)—The Daughters of the American Revolution, waiving a long-standing ban against Negro artists, today invited the Tuskegee Institute choir to sing in the DAR-owned Constitution Hall June 3.

Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge, Athens, Ga., DAR president-general, announced that the DAR's executive committee agreed unanimously to permit the Negro singers to appear in the hall. The invitation to the Alabama school, she said, was "without strings," indicating that Negro and white members of the audience would not be segregated.

The DAR's previous refusals to permit Negro artists to perform at Constitution Hall—the largest auditorium in Washington—had embroiled it in numerous controversies since the rule was established in 1932.

Marian Anderson, famed Negro contralto, did sing there in January, 1943, after two previous runins with the DAR. When refused use of Constitution Hall in 1939 she sang outside the Lincoln Memorial to 75,000 persons on Easter day. In 1942 the DAR invited Miss Anderson to appear in the hall, but negotiations collapsed when she insisted there be no segregation in the audience.

SAN ANTONIO, TEX.
EXPRESS
Circ. D. 73,593 - S. 124,623

APR 25 1946

DAR Grants Negro Choir

Use of Hall

BY ASSOCIATED PRESS

WASHINGTON, April 24.—The Daughters of the American Revolution Wednesday let down the bars which had kept negro artists from appearing in its Constitution Hall here in the past and announced that the Tuskegee Institute Choir would sing there June 3.

The use of the hall was granted without charge for the concert. The proceeds will go to the United Negro College Fund. The choir will appear in the course of a tour of several cities starting in New York on May 23.

PORTLAND, ORE.
OREGONIAN
Cir. D. 163,767—S. 217,780

APR 25 1946

D.A.R. Grants Negroes Hall

WASHINGTON, April 25 (AP) The Daughters of the American Revolution Wednesday let down the bars which had kept Negro artists from appearing in its Constitution hall here in the past and announced that the Tuskegee Institute choir would sing there June 3.

The use of the hall was granted without charge for the concert. The proceeds will go to the United Negro college fund. The choir will appear in the course of a tour of several cities starting in New York on May 23.

Whether the D. A. R. action in this case represents a reversal of previous policy was not disclosed. A statement by Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge, president general, said, "This is a most worthy undertaking and we will help in every way to make it a splendid financial success."

Congresswoman Pleads

Representative Clare Booth Luce, republican, Connecticut, recently called upon the D. A. R. to make the hall available for the benefit. Mrs. Talmadge replied that the Tuskegee request was being considered and that Mrs. Luce's letter would not affect the decision.

The D. A. R. announcement Wednesday said Mrs. Talmadge placed the matter before the executive committee members by wire, urging that the invitation be authorized, and all the members agreed. The invitation then was issued and accepted.

Constitution hall, owned by the D. A. R., is the only large auditorium in the capital suitable for concerts. The D. A. R.'s refusal to permit Negroes to appear there has aroused a number of controversies in the past. One of the most notable occurred some years ago in the case of Marian Anderson, Negro contralto, who subsequently sang from the steps of the Lincoln memorial.

MIDDLETOWN, CONN.
PRESS
Circ. D. 12,963

APR 26 1946

Tried to "Make Political Hay" Out of Decision on Tuskegee Choir, Is Charge.

ATHENS, Ga., April 26.—(UP)—National DAR President Mrs. Julius Talmadge charged last night that Rep. Clare Booth Luce, R., Conn., tried to "make political hay" out of the appearance of the Tuskegee Institute choir in Washington.

CLARE BOOTH LUCE CRITICIZED BY DAR

Oklahoma City, Okla.
TIMES
Cir. D. 88,655

APR 26 1946

DAR Leader Attacks Luce's Concert Claims

ATHENS, Ga., April 26.—(UP)—National DAR President Mrs. Julius Talmadge charged Thursday night that Rep. Clare Booth Luce, (R., Conn.), tried to "make political hay" out of the appearance of the Tuskegee institute choir in Washington.

Mrs. Talmadge said that the Daughters of the American Revolution had made the decision to allow the famous Negro choral group the use of its Washington auditorium for a June concert without any outside pressure. She indicated that Mrs. Luce was seeking credit for the DAR decision to permit the concert.

KNOXVILLE, TENN.
NEWS-SENTINEL
Circ. D. 76,539 - S. 77,951

APR 25 1946

DAR Reverses Stand, Invites Tuskegee Choir for Concert

By United Press

WASHINGTON, April 25—The Daughters of the American Revolution, in a reversal of their stand on the appearance of Negro artists at Constitution Hall, have invited the Tuskegee, Ala., institute choir to sing there on June 3.

Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge, Athens Ga., DAR president general, announced that the invitation was extended by unanimous vote of the organization's executive committee. Dr. F. D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee, "promptly accepted," she said.

The concert, in honor of Booker T. Washington, Tuskegee founder, will mark a distinct departure from earlier DAR practice when famed colored artists, including Singer Marian Anderson and Pianist Hazel Scott, were barred from the hall.

Earlier this month Rep. Clare Boothe Luce, R., Conn., sent a telegram to Mrs. Talmadge requesting that the hall doors be opened to the Tuskegee group which had asked a chance to appear. Mrs. Talmadge's reply to Mrs. Luce said that the congresswoman was hindering rather than helping the Tuskegee ensemble.

"We are very sorry to learn that our telegram had such a disturbing effect on you," Mrs. Luce replied on behalf of her committee "against racial discrimination in Constitution Hall."

"What we do want to hear from you is that you have accepted our urgent request and have granted the application of Tuskegee Institute. . ."

Whether Mrs. Luce's message prompted the about-face in DAR policy could not be learned immediately.

Proceeds of the concert will be used for the United Negro College fund and to defray the choir's traveling expenses to Tuskegee from New York where it sings May 23.

D. A. R. HEAD ASSAILS CRITICS AS DISLOYAL

New York Times
New York, N. Y.

Fight Over Constitution Hall Held to Be Motivated by 'Politics and Publicity'

Tue. 5-21-46

BOARD INQUIRY ORDERED

Contest Over Resolution Is Expected Today—Truman Calls for Understanding

By LUCY GREENBAUM

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., May 20—An attack on the members of the Committee Against Racial Discrimination in Constitution Hall and the charge that "politics and publicity" have lurked behind every criticism of the management of the hall, were made tonight by Mrs. Julius Young Talmadge, president-general of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

In her opening address to 4,000 delegates and alternates to the Fifty-fifth Continental Congress of the D.A.R. in Convention Hall here, she accused the members of what she called "an unconstitutional committee," including Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce, of being disloyal to the D.A.R. *Tue. 5-21-46*

At the same time, in a surprise move, she announced the appointment by the National Board of a special committee to investigate thoroughly the question of leases at Constitution Hall and to report its findings and recommendations to the board for final action.

Publicity for Artists Noted

She also quoted a suggestion that "the backers and sponsors of those artists who have been denied the use of Constitution Hall because of our rules regulating our rental system—and have obtained thereby a million dollars worth of free advertisement, more or less, for these artists—could easily build an auditorium of their own."

Among the artists who have figured in the controversies over Constitution Hall are Marion Anderson and Hazel Scott.

"The D. A. R. society would wish them great success and godspeed in their endeavor," Mrs. Talmadge added. "There is room for all and Constitution Hall would remain as it is today—a cultural center in Washington, D. C."

The Committee Against Racial Discrimination in Constitution Hall has led the move to delete the phrase "white artists only" from Constitution Hall contracts. It was this group of D. A. R. members that Mrs. Talmadge spoke of as forming "an unconstitutional committee" and of "misrepresenting itself both to the general public and to the membership of the society." She said that "the secretary of this committee is not even a D. A. R. member."

Although not mentioning any name Mrs. Talmadge referred to Dr. Maeanna Chesterton-Mangle, a writer and editor in the religious and interracial field, who was chosen secretary because she is not a D. A. R. member and, therefore, not biased, according to members of the committee. *Tue. 5-21-46*

Mrs. Luce's Talk Answered

Mrs. Talmadge accused Mrs. Luce of stirring up sectional and racial discord by a personal attack on the president-general of the D. A. R. in a radio broadcast on Feb. 21, Mrs. Talmadge did not mention Mrs. Luce by name but she said that the broadcast was made "by a member of our society, which she later published in The Congressional Record."

She quoted from this broadcast: "See here, Mrs. Talmadge of Athens, Ga., you are a fine woman and a gracious lady but whether you will admit it or not, in your deep concern for white faces you are paradoxically enough giving our D. A. R. a couple of black eyes by insisting on this clause in our Constitution Hall contract."

Mrs. Talmadge then said: "The attack had little, if any, effect upon me, for I do not see, in the first place, what bearing my locale could have had on the subject. I had no choice in its selection and we are all presumably human, whether we embarked upon life in the north, the south, the east or the west; but the sum total demonstrates to what length antagonists will go in order to create division within our ranks. Is this loyalty to D. A. R.?"

Washington Useage Reviewed

In reviewing the Constitution Hall controversy, Mrs. Talmadge said she wanted to remind the audience that in Washington there are separate schools, theatres and restaurants for the white and Negro races.

"These customs were carefully worked out as best suited to existing conditions and conductive to the greatest happiness and peace for all," she declared.

Only the Congress of the United States can change these customs, she asserted, adding: "politicians, radicals, publicity seekers and others gain nothing by attacking Congress. But an attack aimed at the D. A. R., a patriotic organization—owning Constitution Hall—gets the headlines."

Then she charged that "politics and publicity have lurked behind every curtain in every attack on our management of Constitution Hall." *Tue. 5-21-46*

"We continue to be criticized hyprocritically by those who have political ambitions; by various groups who are opposed to us; and honestly by those who, acting with sincere motives, follow the leader," she said.

Some members "during this turmoil" have urged that the D. A. R. take the lead in abolishing established custom in Washington, the president-general asserted. She continued: "in this changing world—for war always brings changes—we, as an organization, are in accord with any individual, regardless of birth or color, who wishes to keep step with the march of progress, but we would naturally hesitate to assume the role of dictators to the lawmakers of the land."

The D.A.R. will continue its policy "without dictation from unauthorized sources, either within or without the organization," she said.

She said that the entire credit for allowing the Tuskegee choir to sing June 3 at Constitution Hall belonged to the executive committee, for its was its decision alone, "and any associations or implications of influence from other quarters are both futile and untrue." The Committee Against Racial Discrimination in Constitution Hall has said that it brought pressure on the D.A.R. to allow the choir to appear.

A message of greetings from Preesident Truman said that he was sure the D.A.R. would be the first to appreciate that "the maintenance of our own security now depends in large measure on the degree of our international cooperation." *Tue. 5-21-46*

"We need to extend our understandin gand our example to strangers without as well as within our gates," it added.

In urging at least six months of universal military training, Maj. Gen. Ray E. Porter, director of the special planning division of the War Department, who addressed the afternoon national defense meeting, said that it was his belief that half ow the American casualties in North Africa would have been averted "had our men been as well trained as were the American soldiers in Europe in 1944 and 1945."

Tomorrow morning the resolutions committee, of which Mrs. Grace L. H. Brosseau is chairman, will make its report on several resolutions. The second round of the battle over Constitution Hall is expecte dto take place then.

WHITE ARTIST' ROW HEARD BY THE D.A.R.

Opponents of Clause Present Deletion Move to Congress, Then Withdraw It

DELEGATES IN AN UPROAR

New York Times
New York, N.Y.

Opposition Leader Satisfied as She Prevents Vote After Gaining Floor

Fri. 5-24-46

By LUCY GREENBAUM

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., May 23—The storm raging over the "white artists only" clause that has been simmering for several years finally broke with such fury today at the closing session of the fifty-fifth Continental Congress of the Daughters of the American Revolution that the 4,000 delegates were thrown into an uproar four times within fifteen minutes.

Although greeted by jeers and derisive laughter, Mrs. Eugene Denny Vann, proponent of the resolution to delete the phrase from Constitution Hall leases, was at last permitted the platform. She gave her reasons for proposing the resolution and then, in a completely unexpected move, withdrew it. The resolution was not voted upon.

After the meeting Mrs. Vann said: *Fri. 5-24-46*

"I was completely satisfied. In the first place, they allowed me to speak. In the second place, I kept them from voting. I knew if they voted I would take a fearful licking."

Mrs. Vann also announced that the Committee Against Racial Discrimination in Constitution Hall, of which she is a member, would not disband as ordered by the D. A. R. Mrs. Julius Talmadge, president general, said, however, that the committee would have to abide by the rules of the organization.

If Representative Clare Boothe Luce wants to remain in the D. A. R. she must dissolve the committee, Mrs. Talmadge declared.

Asked if Mrs. Luce faced expulsion unless she obeyed orders, Mrs. Talmadge replied: "We probably wouldn't expel her. She'd like nothing better."

Did Not Get Luce Telegram

Mrs. Talmadge said she had not received the telegram Mrs. Luce released to the newspapers last night. It said the committee would not disband but would continue working against racial discrimination. She sent the following statement to Mrs. Luce today:

"Your reported telegram to me as published in the morning newspapers again raises the question, "Is this loyalty to the DAR?' The action of the DAR congress is dissolving your unconstitutional committee will be enforced if necessary."

Addressing the delegates Mrs. Talmade said:

"We will not be intimidated. Neither will we be stampeded. Hereafter we will fight fire with fire."

The controversial resolution was the thirty-seventh and last introduced. It was presented by Mrs. Grace Brosseau, chairman of the resolutions committee.

In introducing the resolutions, Mrs. Brosseau said:

"The resolutions committee voted unanimously to bring this resolution before you without approval. "Then she read: "Resolved that the clause "white artists only' be deleted from Constitution Hall contracts."

Mrs. Talmadge then declared that she thought this matter would be taken care of "minutely and carefully, legally and prayerfully" by the special seven-man committee appointed by the board to investigate the leases, but if any of the "opposition" had anything to say "now is the time to say it." *Fri. 5-24-46*

Mrs. Vann walked to the platform and asked, "May I, madam chairman?" There were gasps and a loud murmur of excitement ran through the audience.

Mrs. Vann moved that the resolution of the Polly Wyckoff Chapter be received and that she be allowed to speak for three minutes.

Mrs. Talmadge called for a vote on whether Mrs. Vann should be allowed to speak. The "no's" drowned out the "ayes."

"The ayes have carried—I mean the no's have it, and the motion is lost," Mrs. Talmadge announced.

Asks Resolution Be Heard

At this point Mrs. E. Vinton Sisson of Chicago, former member of the national board, arose and said: "I feel it is very unwise to refuse tihs courtesy to the opposition." The audience roared mixed approval and dissent.

Mrs. Hampton Fleming, parliamentarian, then explained that possibly the members had not understood what they were voting for and that a second vote might be taken.

Mrs. Talmadge asked how many had understood what they were voting for and a number of delefates raised their hands. A mem-

ber of the New York delegation demanded a count and again the audience went into an uproar.

Mrs. Sisson rose to her feet. "Again I appeal to the fairness of this delegation," she said. "How can I go back to Illinois and say we refused to discuss this question? This will smoulder and smoulder and burst into flame unless we have free discussion."

Mrs. Talmadge called for a second vote and the "ayes" won.

In a quiet, confident voice, Mrs. Vann explained that the Polly Wyckoff Chapter had been moved chiefly by three arguments in recommending the resolution.

D. A. R. DELEGATES READY FOR CLASH

New York Times

New York, N.Y.

'White Artists Only' Clause in Its Leases to Be Issue at Atlantic City Convention

Mon. 5-20-46

RESOLUTION UP TOMORROW

Floor Fight to Force It From Committee Is Forecast—5,000 to Attend Sessions

By LUCY GREENBAUM

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., May 19—The calm before the storm settled over hotels here today as the Doughters of the American Revolution assembled for their fifty-fifth Continental Congress, which officially opens tomorrow. The delegates took part in a historic tree ceremony and a memorial service for the 2,000 members who died in the past two years.

For the first time since the war started the D. A. R. will have full representation at a convention that promises to be one of the stormiest in its history. Four thousand delegates and alternates will attend the convention officially and another 1,000 are expected to turn up unofficially.

The conflict will center about a resolution to delete the phrase "white artists only" from leases for the use of Constitution Hall in Washington, which is owned by the D. A. R. The resolutions committee has received such a resolution and when it reports on Tuesday morning verbal fireworks are expected to explode.

Fight on Floor Forecast

The resolutions committee can do one of three things with the resolution: report it favorably, report it adversely or table it.

Mrs. Julius Young Talmadge of Athens, Ga., the president-general, has indicated that the resolution committee will not introduce the resolution. In that case a delegate may present from the floor a motion to force the resolution out of committee. If this motion is carried the resolution then would be brought out for a vote by the congress. Mon. 5-20-46

Several members of the committee against racial discrimination in Constitution Hall are delegates and are entitled to call for the presentation of the resolution. Among them is Mrs. E. C. Denny Vann of the Polly Wyckoff Chapter in New Jersey, who drew up the original resolution, backed by members of the committee.

Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce, a member of the committee, will not be allowed to address the congress because she is not a delegate. A delegate must have been a member of the same chapter for one year, and Mrs. Luce transferred from the Putnam Hill Chapter in Greenwich, Conn., to the Eunice Dennie Burr Chapter in Stamford less than a year ago.

Many Arrive by Auto

Today 3,000 of the 4,000 delegates arrived in the city, filling the lobby of the Marlborough-Blenheim Hotel, where headquarters are located, and other boardwalk hotels nearby. They represent chapters in every State as well as in Hawaii, the Philippines, France, China, Cuba, England and Puerto Rico.

The threat of a railroad strike caused confusion in the schedules of the delegates, many of whom arrived late. An exceptionally large number came in automobiles. One official estimate placed the number driving at 50 per cent, chiefly from the Eastern States.

Many men attended the tree ceremony, at which Joseph Altman, Mayor of this city, accepted a cutting from the Washington elm tree at Cambridge, Mass., as a gift from the D. A. R. The presence of the men was explained by the fact that they drove the cars.

The theme of this convention, the first in two years, is "Set a watch, lest old traditions fail." Tomorrow's meeting on national defense will feature a discussion of "Essential Features of a Sound Military Program for the United States" by Maj. Gen. Ray E. Porter, director of the special planning division of the War Department. Mon. 5-20-46

29, 1946

TWO RECOGNITIONS OF NEGRO TALENTS

Whether public prodding had anything to do with it or not, the Daughters of the American Revolution has announced that the choir of Tuskegee Institute will sing in Constitution Hall in Washington, D. C., on June 3. Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge, president general of the society, declared that the use of the hall and the services of its employees would be furnished free for the concert, which will honor Booker T. Washington, founder of the institute. The proceeds will go to the United Negro College fund.

The invitation for the choir to appear was unanimously voted by the members of the executive committee, although a week earlier the president general had made public a telegram from Representative Clare Boothe Luce which Mrs. Talmadge said had "hindered rather than helped." Mrs. Luce's telegram referred to the refusal to permit Hazel Scott, Negro pianist and entertainer, to play in the hall several months ago, and warned the D.A.R. against further need for "apologies."

"This is a most worthy undertaking," Mrs. Talmadge said, "and we will help in every way to make it a splendid financial success."

Meanwhile, for the first time in the history of the New York University School of Education, a Negro has been appointed visiting professor of Negro culture and education for the coming year. He is Dr. Ira De A. Reid, chairman of the department of sociology at Atlanta university, and he holds degrees from Atlanta university, University of Pittsburgh, Columbia university, having studied also at the University of Chicago and the London School of Economics.

For several years Dr. Reid has been closely identified with groups fostering closer inter-racial relations, and social and economic advances among various race groups. The first Negro professor at New York university was the late Dr. James Weldon Johnson, who taught classes in Racial Contributions from 1934 to 1938.

The unanimous invitation to the Tuskegee choir, a nationally known musical organization, may in a measure compensate for the criticisms which resulted when Marian Anderson and Hazel Scott were refused appearances at Constitution hall. The executive committee's action may even be the forerunner of a more liberal policy toward Negro artists and racial cultural groups.

The appointment of Dr. Reid as a fulltime professor should prove a beneficial influence in achieving a more liberal and generous recognition of Negro educators among all schools of higher learning.

Fighting DAR From Within

Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat.

Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge, president general of the Daughters of the American Revolution, is angry. In fact, she is downright mad.

This Southern white woman got a telegram last week from Clare Luce, Republican congresswoman from Connecticut, urging that the DAR national board grant the request of the Tuskegee Institute Choir to appear June 1 in recital at the DAR-owned Constitution Hall in Washington. This is the same hall that barred Marian Anderson and Hazel Scott.

Mrs. F. D. Roosevelt resigned when Marian Anderson was barred by the DAR women. Mrs. Luce also announced that she would resign, but she changed her mind, and instead elected to remain in the organization. 4-27-46

As long as enemies of racial discrimination resign their membership in the DAR they leave the field open to Southern sympathizers. When, like Mrs. Luce, however, they stay in an organization and fight against discrimination they become immediately a potential threat against the administration.

It can be that there are enough DAR women who will side with Mrs. Luce in the next election and make it extremely difficult to elect any Southerner like Mrs. Talmadge as president again. 4-27-46

Has the D. A. R. Changed?

Pittsburgh, Pa. Courier

The news that the Daughters of the American Revolution had donated its Constitution Hall in Washington to the Tuskegee Choir for a benefit concert to aid the United Negro College Fund came as a very welcome and pleasant surprise.

Knowing of the DAR specifications for "white artists only" in contracts for the rental of Constitution Hall, and remembering its denial of the use of the hall to Marian Anderson, Hazel Scott and other colored artists, such an apparent about-face came rather unexpectedly despite the growing revolt against this lily-white policy within the organization itself.

All Americans of goodwill who despise petty prejudices of all kinds rejoiced that the DAR had reversed its policy, if only in this case, but wondered if the change was permanent.

An element of doubt entered with the information supplied by the Constitution Hall management that the "lily-white" specification applies only to "commercial" performances and that Marian Anderson was permitted to sing at the hall during the war for the benefit of China Relief. Sat 5-4-46

Is the DAR resorting to double-talk or has it really experienced a change of heart?

The gift of the hall to the Tuskegee Choir for charitable purposes apparently does not supply the answer.

We still must wait to see what happens under other circumstances.

BEACON, N. Y.
Newburgh-Beacon News
Circ. D. 14,994

MAY 6 1946

Hall Loaned for Negro Choir

Daughters of the American Revolution are loaning their Continental Hall in Washington for the Tuskegee Institute choir for benefit of united Negro college fund. They are happy to aid in so worthy a cause, and are charging no fee. The Daughters draw the line however on concerts which obviously are promoted by publicity-seekers.

55-YEAR-OLD PREJUDICE

DAR Repeats Historic Bias

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.—In keeping with a 55-year-old policy of racial prejudice, the continental congress of the Daughters of the American Revolution successfully defeated a move to abolish Jim Crow at the DAR Constitution Hall in Washington, D. C., before adjourning here last Thursday. 6-1-46

Approximately 4,000 of the nation's faminine "blue-bloods" at the 55th annual convention cheered wildly as a resolution calling for deletion of the words, "white artists only" from Constitution Hall contracts was withdrawn by its proponent, Mrs. Eugene Denny Vann.

Mrs. Vann's action climaxed a brilliant but losing battle to have the prejudice clause lifted from agreements covering the auditorium's leasing. She has tirelessly teamed with Rep. Clare Boothe Luce (R., Conn.) to lead a campaign by a voluntary 17-woman committee to allow performances by Negro artists in the hall.

Mrs. Vann patiently faced derisive laughs and jeers from the congress' "representatives of American culture." When her voice finally was able to be heard, Mrs. Vann, a delegate from Leonia, N. J., Polly Wyckoff DAR Chapter, quietly gave her reasons for proposing the resolution to delete the words, "white artists only," from Constitution Hall contracts.

Foes Caught Off Guard

In a move that caught her proposal's many enemies completely off guard, she then withdrew the resolution. 6-1-46 Sat.

The New Jersey delegate announced, however, that an order issued by the congress earlier in the week to dissolve the anti-discrimination committee would not be obeyed. Mrs. Julius Talmadge, president-general of the DAR from Athens, Ga., said the committee would, nevertheless, be compelled to abide by the rules of the organization.

One of the gag rules, approved by this year's meeting, prohibits any member of group from using the words, "DAR" or "Constitution Hall," without specific permission from the national headquarters.

Mrs. Talmadge also said that Representative Luce must dissolve the committee she founded if she desires continued membership in the DAR, but expressed a fear of criticism that might follow if the Connecticut congresswoman were expelled from the society for noncompliance. 6-1-46 Sat.

After defending the Constitution Hall anti-Negro policy as a part of the general Jim Crow pattern in the nation's capital, the DAR head surprised the meeting with an announcement of the appointment by the national board of a special "official" committee to investigate the situation. This committee's findings and recommendations, she said, will be reported to the board for final action. Chicago, Ill.

REP. CLARE BOOTHE LUCE
Of the Committee Against Racial Discrimination in Constitution Hall, who was this week warned by DAR head, Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge that she could not remain both a member of the DAR and leader of the committee.—Acme Photo.

DAR Tempest

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Two months ago sixteen DAR's under the guidance of Representative Clare Boothe Luce of Connecticut formed the Committee Against Racial Discrimination in Constitution Hall to campaign for deletion of the "white artists only" clause. When the all-Negro choir of Tuskegee Institute requested permission to appear in the hall's auditorium, Mrs. Luce and the committee wired DAR headquarters asking them to open the auditorium's doors to the choir. Subsequently, the DAR voted to permit the choir to use the hall. New York

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One of the DAR's honorary president generals explained its action thus: "When a person who has never been to a DAR meeting in her life [Mrs. Luce has not been active] forms a group of dissidents, they don't even rate. Down the hatch! Into the ashcan!" Committee members said they intended to continue their work for the lifting of the discriminatory ban.

ROGERS SAYS:

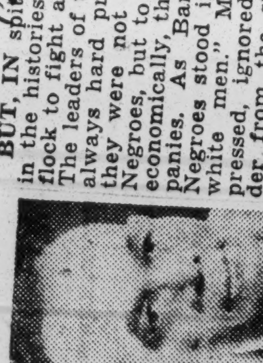
DAR Is Following Same Ungrateful Pattern Set In Revolutionary War

By J. A. ROGERS

Courier

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

I SAID last week that it will take something stronger than religion, education, inter-racial conferences, etc., to break the petrified crust of color prejudice in this country. Jim crow, as I said, thrives on the Christian gospel. There is more jim crow now in the principal Christian faiths in America than theere was centuries ago. The Episcopalian Church, as well as the Methodist, Baptist, and Catholic were less prejudiced towards Negroes then than they are now, even though the Negroes are far more educated and cultured than they were then.



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A striking and most notorious proof is the present conduct of the DAR, who are all probably very good Christians, with their "white artists only" slogan. Read George H. Moore's 'Historical Notes on the Employment of Negroes in the American Army of the Revolution" and you'll see from documentary evidence, that the DAR are acting precisely as most whites of that time though 170 years have passed. George Washington in 1775 issued his "white only" order precisely as the DAR have issued theirs. Washington did that to please the slave-holders, even as the DAR are doing it to please the racial bigots in the capital and over the nation.

Pittsburgh

BUT, IN spite of the usual bunk in the histories, white men did not flock to fight against King George. The leaders of the Revolution were always hard pressed for men and they were not only forced to use Negroes, but to use them the most economically, that is, in white companies. As Bancroft says, "Free Negroes stood in the ranks beside white men." Massachusetts, hard pressed, ignored Washington's order from the start and Washington, himself, was forced to go against it. A list compiled at the time shows 755 Negroes in his own brigades. Moore adds, "Similar returns from other armies in other departments would doubtless show a larger proportion in many brigades."

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Many proposals were made to segregate the Negroes but the American Army couldn't afford the luxury of jim-crow then. On April 3, 1778, Thomas Kench wrote the Massachusetts Legislature telling how "the Negroes were intermixed with white men" and proposed separate companies but this and similar proposals were rejected. (For Kench's letter, see Livermore's Negroes as Soldiers, etc, p. 125).

The slavemasters, as was said, objected to Negroes being in the Army at all. On March 14, 1779, Hamilton wrote to Jay, "South Carolina, being very weak in her population of whites, may be excused from the draught on condition of furnishing the black battalions." A Congressional committee early in the war, proposed that South Carolina and Georgia furnished 3,000 black soldiers. But these slave states fought it. They came to their senses only when they began to lose their slaves to the British, who made the black men alluring offers. South Carolina, alone, lost 25,000 slaves in this way. In short, it was dire necessity that forced the ancestors of the DAR to pull down their "white only" sign. Sat. 5-25-46

AND IF the Negroes had not fought for a freedom denied to them, or if the majority of them had sided with the British, the United States might still be a part of the British empire (at least more than it now is). That will doubtless seem a gross exaggeration to most. Well, I cite a parallel from the Civil War. Lincoln, in his letter to John T. Mills, August 1864, declared that if he were to lose the 150,000 Negroes now aiding the Union Army to the enemy, "we would be compelled to abandon the war in three weeks." It is in this mae way the Negro provided the balance of power whereby American independence was achieved. Yet, in spite of this, the good, very patriotic DAR are showing the gratitude one might expect from a beast of prey.

After the War of Independence, the ancestors of the DAR ran true to form. Slavery closed down more tightly and more cruelly on the blacks. Their partiotic effort in the War of 1812 helped them none. The Civil War, in which the Negroes played so decisive a role, according to Lincoln, brought a great wave of lynching, mobbing, and the Ku Klux Klan. Bilbo, Rankin, Eastland, and the rest owe an immense debt to the Negro's sacrifices in the Civil War. Had the Union abandoned the war, they'd probably be small-bore ward-heelers or evangelists in a Southern Republic instead of now strutting at the nation's captial. There would be no James Byrnes of South Carolina, now dictating world peace or no Tom Connally of Texas, with so much to say. Yet these men have not hesitated to bite the hand that made it possible for them to be where they now are.

World War I followed the usual pattern. The Negro soldiers, who were praised far more than in World War II, returned to find great race-riots, one of which raged for five days in Washington, D. C., under the nose of Woodrow Wilson, who, like the present regime, was busy extending democracy over the rest of the world. Sat. 5-25-46

I DOUBT strongly whether World War II has aided democracy much in this country. The United States Army and Navy continue their jim-crow. A white friend of mine tells me how shocked he was to see German prisoners of war being served in restaurants from which Negro soldiers were barred. I doubt whether Hitler would have acted like that towards the Negro troops he had in his army after his invasion of North Africa.

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WHITE MAN'S VIEWS

Negro Artists Should Not Wish to Display Wares Before Dullards of DAR

By TED LE BERTHON

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

The Courier Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 6-22-46

BY the time this column is in print, it will be about an even month since the Daughters of the American Revolution refused to rescind a clause in the Constitution Hall rental contracts "for white artists only." The intervening month should have given all of us an opportunity for some highly mirthful ruminations. We should be able to see that there is virtually no resemblance whatsoever between "the ragged Continentals" of 1776 or the cause for which they fought and the stuffy DAR women or the latter's social philosophy.

Mr. Le Berthon

The snobbish attitude of these descendants of revolutionists is a far cry from the Boston Tea Party, from Crispus Attucks, from Yorktown, and from Patrick Henry roaring for liberty or death in Independence Hall in Richmond. The socialite DAR's would have represented a stench in the nostrils to the wives of the "minute men" of Lexington and Concord.

The greatest irony, however, is that Negro artists should wish to have anything to do with such social climbing dullards as the DAR women. Such persons as members of the DAR or the FFV (First Families of Virginia) are those who invariably smother art to death. They are the wives of Babbitts, of moneylgrubbers who attend performances of grand opera because such attendance is a social ritual.

Such women as the DAR have about as much understanding of great music as barnyard hens have. For such artists as Marian Anderson, Dorothy Maynor, Paul Robeson or Roland Hayes to sing before them is to "cast pearls before swine."

* * *

SOCIAL vanity, pride of station, pomposity over ancestry, is the essence of the DAR. How to extract a democratic attitude from such vain and dull creatures is like expecting "figs from thistles." The fact that their ancestors would not have been in the least proud of the DAR's does not minimize the absurdity of genuine artists, Negro or white seeking their approval.

The little group in the DAR headed by Clare Boothe Luce, "the committee against racial discrimination in the use of Constitution Hall," deserves the warmest public esteem. But the irony of there existing such a thing as racial discrimination in a place called Constitution Hall deserves only Olympian laughter.

Of course, as the late Art Young once put it, we laugh that we may not weep. The laughter of high irony is not a joyous laughter. In our hearts, we are bound to be troubled as the illusion of democracy is seen for what it is—right in Washington, D. C., right in Constitution Hall. We are bound to be troubled when, all around us, a dream dies, a vision vanishes, and Mammon triumphs.

The DAR is a rediculous organization, as any organization based on pride of ancestry is ridiculous. The DAR simply is a microcosm of the world, one of millions of expressions of worldliness. The attitude of Clare Boothe Luce and her small minority group of dissenters from pride and prejudice, simply attests the age-old fact of the persistence of the spirit of Christ against overwhelming odds.

* * *

IN THIS world of atomic bombs, of the triumph of force, this world, "of which Satan is the Prince," the Christian rarely wins out. When he does, it is not for long. Christ said, "My kingdom is not of this world."

The Clare Boothe Luce group and their cause, the cause of human brotherhood, the cause of true Christianity, were defeated by the foolish dullards of the DAR. But this was to be expected. This was old hat. But, of course, the Clare Boothe Luce group really won. That is, they won the spiritual victory.

The DAR women are of the social group in general most responsible for the chaos of our times. If there is a bloody revolution, their snide attitude will have caused it far more so than any machinations or Communists. And if, in the course of it, they are hanged by Communists, it will be because they loved social position and snobbishness, not because they loved Christ or the spirit of 1776, Daughters of the American Revolution, if revolution comes, where will you run?

A Fighter Inside DAR Says Justice to Come

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 8-3-46

By SAMUEL HOSKINS

LEONIA, N.J.—Social justice has got to come, but it is up to us to help it along.

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MRS. ELIZABETH CHAPMAN VANN

Good Christianity

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"Who've ever heard of such a thing as one not being able to listen to a program or attend one because the participants don't belong to a certain race?"

Alluding the charge often made by Southerners that "outsiders" are responsible for fights against Southern traditions, she said "I was just the one for it, for I'm no "outsider."

Then she told of her Southern background.

Born in Virginia

She was born 62 years ago at Fincastle, Va., grew up in Nashville, Tenn., attended Vanderbilt, and married Eugene Vann, from Birmingham, Ala.

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There she met colored people on many planes, including the social level, and part of the time while she was there the country had a colored President.

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Helped Build Church

Another factor which contributed to the improved relations is Mount Zion Baptist Church which was built during 1944, largely through the efforts of a committee she headed.

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"Why that old codger helped to plot the Revolutionary War. He wrote letters and helped to recruit support for it, because he figured his security was threatened.

"That's exactly what we're doing in the DAR. We're plotting a fight against intolerance which not only threatens the DAR, but is dangerous for America."

WHITE MAN'S VIEWS

Negro Artists Should Not Wish to Display Wares Before Dullards of DAR

By TED LE BERTHON

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

The Courier, Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 6-22-46

BY the time this column is in print, it will be about an even month since the Daughters of the American Revolution refused to rescind a clause in the Constitution Hall rental contracts "for white artists only." The intervening month should have given all of us an opportunity for some highly mirthful ruminations. We should be able to see that there is virtually no resemblance whatsoever between "the ragged Continentals" of 1776 or the cause for which they fought and the stuffy DAR women or the latter's social philosophy.

Mr. Le Berthon

The snobbish attitude of these descendants of revolutionists is a far cry from the Boston Tea Party, from Crispus Attucks, from Yorktown, and from Patrick Henry roaring for liberty or death in Independence Hall in Richmond. The socialite DAR's would have represented a stench in the nostrils to the wives of the "minute men" of Lexington and Concord.

The greatest irony, however, is that Negro artists should wish to have anything to do with such social climbing dullards as the DAR women. Such persons as members of the DAR or the FFV (First Families of Virginia) are those who invariably smother art to death. They are the wives of Babbitts, of money1grubbers who attend performances of grand opera because such attendance is a social ritual.

Such women as the DAR have about as much understanding of great music as barnyard hens have. For such artists as Marian Anderson, Dorothy Maynor, Paul Robeson or Roland Hayes to sing before them is to "cast pearls before swine."

* * *

SOCIAL vanity, pride of station, pomposity over ancestry, is the essence of the DAR. How to extract a democratic attitude from such vain and dull creatures is like expecting "figs from thistles." The fact that their ancestors would not have been in the least proud of the DAR's does not minimize the absurdity of genuine artists, Negro or white seeking their approval.

The little group in the DAR headed by Clare Boothe Luce, "the committee against racial discrimination in the use of Constitution Hall," deserves the warmest public esteem. But the irony of there existing such a thing as racial discrimination in a place called Constitution Hall deserves only Olympian laughter.

Of course, as the late Art Young once put it, we laugh that we may not weep. The laughter of high irony is not a joyous laughter. In our hearts, we are bound to be troubled as the illusion of democracy is seen for what it is—right in Washington, D. C., right in Constitution Hall. We are bound to be troubled when, all around us, a dream dies, a vision vanishes, and Mammon triumphs.

The DAR is a rediculous organization, as any organization based on pride of ancestry is ridiculous. The DAR simply is a microcosm of the world, one of millions of expressions of worldliness. The attitude of Clare Boothe Luce and her small minority group of dissenters from pride and prejudice, simply attests the age-old fact of the persistence of the spirit of Christ against overwhelming odds.

* * *

IN THIS world of atomic bombs, of the triumph of force, this world, "of which Satan is the Prince," the Christian rarely wins out. When he does, it is not for long. Christ said, "My kingdom is not of this world."

The Clare Boothe Luce group and their cause, the cause of human brotherhood, the cause of true Christianity, were defeated by the foolish dullards of the DAR. But this was to be expected. This was old hat. But, of course, the Clare Boothe Luce group really won. That is, they won the spiritual victory.

The DAR women are of the social group in general most responsible for the chaos of our times. If there is a bloody revolution, their snide attitude will have caused it far more so than any machinations or Communists. And if, in the course of it, they are hanged by Communists, it will be because they loved social position and snobbishness, not because they loved Christ or the spirit of 1776, Daughters of the American Revolution, if revolution comes, where will you run?

A Fighter Inside DAR Says Justice to Come

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 8-3-46

MRS. ELIZABETH CHAPMAN VANN

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CINCINNATI, O.
UNION

MAY 2 - 1946

Gossip and Reflections

By WENDELL P. DABNEY

When you can show and shine,
Buy wine and dine,
Then you can say,
Society is mine.

Why is the Negro selected as the special target of racial antagonism? Because complexion is most often the sign of greatest racial differentiation It marks the immense color distinction between the black race and the white rulers of the world.

Copies of the following letter were sent to Dr. Carl G. Roberts, Attorney Stradford and Attorney Lilly in Chicago and Statistician Hall in Washington, D. C., for fear they would miss seeing the article in The Union, as they are all busy bees in the literary or professional world:

I have just read the article by Seville Young. I don't see how anyone can read it without engendering "high blood presure." My pulse is still throbbing at a record beating rate. I shall try to find space for the reproduction of it next week. If i succeed, I am sure my paper will ignite from flames in hell's half-acre, still generated by the burning of General Forrest "the beast of Fort Pillow." Being born soon after the Civil War, I can still fully realize the bestiality of that sadistic son of a feminine canine. "Ye gods and little fishes," that article should make the writer immortal. How I envy him.

Selfish, grasping, greedy, enjoy only a minute differentiation, in classification.

"How has fate dealth with thee?"

"It could have done worse, but taking everything into consideration, I am as lucky a guy as ever loped along the race course of life."

We are all drifting towards the grave, some fast, some slow, but we know 'tis a certainty, there we will go.

"'Tis an ill wind that blows nobody good," "a long lane that has no turning." At last the Daughters of the American Revolution, the organization in Washington that barred "the voice of a century" Marian Anderson and all colored talent from participation on the stage of their hall, has, at last, let down the bars by inviting, in honor of Booker T. Washington, the Tuskegee Institute Choir to sing there on June 3! The excellence of its vocal performance, assisted by the eloquent introduction and pleasing personality of President Patterson, will undoubtedly do away with all future racial prejudice against reputable representation.

Many generations ago, our white citizens had as their specialty in social terpsichorean pleasures: The Old Virginia Reel, the Schottische, the Polka, the Two-Step, the Waltz, at first called that "indecent German dance," and the Mazurka.

Colored citizens danced all of the above,
And among men particularly,
The Buzzard, Buck and Wing,
The Wiggle, the Grapevine Twist,
Then there was the Jig and Clog dancing,
Now know as tap dancing.

There is a Mrs. Hazel Westray in Richmond, Va., a Mrs. Hazel Wesley in Cincinnati. The names are so nearly alike, the owners so far apart.

"But what's in a name?
A rose by any other name,
Smells as sweet."

Our preachers preach and our church women prate, about the happiness that awaits the faithful on the other side of the river Jordan, the heaven of their hopes, but none of them seem in a hurry to make the trip. Why? Because they know not whether their belief, or their indulgence in teaching or preaching, is engendered by falsification, fabrication, or imagination. Faith is the base of all religious foundations.

The only social intercourse, that enjoys freedom from conversation, is fornication.

"The widespread delinquency of our youth should not surprise us when we fully realize that God is shut out of our tax-supported schools, that moral principles and moral training have no part in this school system," Archbishop John T. McNicholas, Cincinnati, said in St. Louis in the keynote address before the 43rd annual national meeting of the National Catholic Education Association, of which he is President.

A check-up as to how many of said delinquents have had Catholic school training, would furnish greatly needed information on that subject. We must admit, that in Catholic schools, children benefit considerably from their training in social etiquette and public behavior.

The escape of murderers, under death sentence in Washington, who overpowered the guards playing cards with them, has caused many folk to realize after an investigation, that some prisoners have had almost incredible privileges, particularly if they have money. Some are said to have been permitted to go forth to transact business, import cases of liquor, attend parties, meet people, especially those belonging in the division known as friends. "Money speaks all languages."

A campaign was on here back in days of yore. A gambling row and fighting argument had started in a downtown precinct, when the "Big Boss," after rubbernecking outside, stepped in and silence reigned as he expressed himself thusly after cussing fussly:

You are hired here boys,
To get rid of the foe,
Kill them with logic,
Or fill them with woe.
When I come around again,
Most of you devils may be dead,
So get busy now with the campaign,
For there's been enough said.

A battle of the sexes seemed imminent recently on the University of Illinois campus. Officials were opposed by students, because of charges that Co-eds of the school were "wolves" who whistled at the men, were over aggressive and had forgotten how to blush. Two students, a male and a female, admitted the charges, and sent letters for publication. The lad's letter said: "If some big, gorgeous hunk of man, still thinks that woman must remain an inhibited, shelf-like specimen, he should bring himself up to our Co-ed level of social adjustment." The young lady's letter said: "Returning veterans have walked from one booby trap to another. Only, the dangers they now face cannot be fought with arms. We Co-eds are preparing for their arms. We have spent four years planning our maneuvers and working out our strategy."

* * *

That girl "sho" said something and not only at that "U," but all around city streets, the public holding hands and hugging and kissing, between young males and females, leaves little else remaining to demonstrate affection.

This year is expected to break all records in production of babies and sales of baby garments and goods.

When in battles,
The ones who were winning,
Killed the men,
And took the women,
In days of old,
That was not sinning.

In the war just ended,
Savagery again reigned supreme,
Men slaves endured,
And a woman's scream,
Brought no help,
From friend or foe,
She was forced to go,
Where they told her to,
And made to go through,
What they wanted her to do.

"Truth is stranger than fiction." Read this marriage item and be convinced:

Miss Irene Wingbermuehl, 27 years old, got a license to marry on April 24, Robert Fuchs, 30 years old. Then she got the license applied for by her mother, who was to marry Joseph Orschell on April 22. For the second license, she spread out 300 pennies for the clerk to count, who hasn't gotten through counting and cussing yet.

Butte, Montana, has been butting into all sorts of trouble recently as a result largely of youth running wild. 'Tis a large copper mining district and when labor went on a strike, the young ones concluded to have a real holiday such as once was enjoyed by the inhabitants of Ireland, before England landed her troops there.

The British loan, nearly four million dollars, is still productive of a vast amount of argument, both for and against.

Soon the financial deed will be done,
Then for several centuries probably,
Collecting will be a lot of fun.

The juvenile poem, "Who Killed Cock Robin?" has given way to the adult inquiry, "Who Killed Mussolini?"

The post-war trials in Germany, are exposing so much of the treachery and treason among the high officials there during War II, that we are tempted to exclaim, as did Troillus,

"By all the gods on Mt. Olympus,
there's a taint of treason in the
very air."

A Kentucky girl, clerk for a Republican Senator, has been much excited and yet possibly flattered recently, by being so often taken for the President's daughter, Miss Margaret Truman. A young colored woman of New York, wife of a prominent Cuban has often been greatly annoyed by being mistaken for the ex-President's wife—that is, Mrs. Roosevelt. She was here on a visit several weeks ago. A most delightful woman, with a husband, whose distinctive personality is only exceeded by his brilliancy.

The woods are now full of psychologists. If questions are not asked them, they will ask questions themselves. One of their questions, "If a girl loves a man deeply, does that make him love her?"

Not on your tin type. We may say, easy gotten, easy gone. That instinct of ancient ages, when a man had to capture his woman, is still enshrined in the souls of most men. Some one has said, "a woman is like a shadow. Run after her, she runs away from you, run away from her, she runs after you."

In certain sections, high school boys and girls are wanted to work, for a specified length of time, on the farms, yet in nearly every section, there seems to be evidence, that many able bodied men are declining all work, as they can derive a sufficient amount of sustenance from their unemployment benefits. Such is life. What was born for a benefit oft degenerates into a curse.

Last week at our big department store, Alms & Doepke's:

A white shirt riot,
Was imminent they say,
For over 1,000 men,
Rushed down that way,
At the time those shirts,
Were put on sale,
And to get them,
They did not,
Intend to fail.

Women flooded a store,
Not long ago,
They wanted some Nylons,
To wear below,
Now the men wanted,
Something white to wear above,
For they thought that would attract,
And cause women to love.

The American Newspaper publishers voted to fight any attempt to put newsboys under child labor laws. They claim that delivery of newspapers by youngsters, is one way to prevent juvenile delinquency. We judge that the publishers remember the old saying, "The devil always finds mischief for idle hands to do."

Over 8,000 British brides of our American soldiers, are still waiting for their husbands here, to send letters to the Generals commanding the district where they are located, requesting that they be sent to them in this country. Out of sight, out of mind. What an easy way to get a divorce.

Mike is a wholesale manufacturer of
"Hot Air,"
Of Mexican Salve he's a king,
And when it comes to handing out
the "Bull,"
The whole world his praises should
sing.

UTICA, N. Y. CHURCH TIMES
MAY 11, 1946

Editors Seek Promotion Of Protestant Principles

Formation Of Protestant News Agency Approved

Washington, D. C.—Resolutions advocating more vigorous promotion of Protestant principles by Protestant editors and publicists were adopted at the conclusion of the annual Associated Church Press convention here.

The convention approved in principle the formation of "an inclusive Protestant agency for the collection, processing, and distribution of news and the expression of Christian conviction by the use of the methods of public relations." The editors proposed that the agency be set up by cooperation between Protestant denominations and the publicity offices of the eight interchurch agencies which are now considering a merger. Function of the proposed agency, the resolution stated, should be to "bring to bear the contribution of Protestant Christianity through the press and in the general field of public relations." Details on organization of the proposed agency were not worked out at the convention.

In another action, the editors voted to appoint a committee to consult with heads of theological seminaries and journalism schools regarding institution of courses in religious journalism.

Commend D.A.R.

A further resolution congratulated the D.A.R. on its action in permitting the Tuskegee Institute choir to appear in Constitution Hall. The convention expressed hope that the "white artists only" clause would be deleted from the Constitution Hall lease at the forthcoming D.A.R. Continental Congress.

Recall of Myron C. Taylor, the President's personal representative to the Vatican was requested in a resolution adopted by the convention. The association proposed that if Taylor remains at the Vatican the Senate Foreign Relations Committee institute hearings "on why the ambassador should not be recalled."

The convention, in another resolution, endorsed the State Department's proposed peacetime information program and urged Congress to provide financial support for the program.

DETROIT, MICH.
NEWS
Circ. D. 387,757 - S. 471,765

APR 25 1946

Negro Singers Get DAR Hall

Long-Standing Ban Relaxed in Capital

WASHINGTON, April 25.—(AP)—The Daughters of the American Revolution relaxed a long-standing policy against the appearance of Negro artists in its Constitution Hall here, and placed it at the disposal of the Tuskegee Institute Choir for a benefit June 3.

DAR officials did not indicate whether the action signified complete abandonment of the old policy, or was just an exception. DAR refusal to permit the appearance of Negro artists in the hall on past occasions produced several widely publicized controversies.

Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge, president general of the DAR, said use of the hall was granted without charge for the Tuskegee group's concert, which will be for the benefit of the United Negro College Fund.

The hall is the only large auditorium in the city suitable for concerts.

South Norwalk, Conn.
SENTINEL
Cir. D. 7,357

APR 26 1946

Said Clare Made "Political Hay"

DAR President Charges Luce Sought Credit For Negro Choral Concert

ATHENS, Ga., April 26.—(UP)—National DAR president Mrs. Julius Talmadge charged last night that Rep. Clare Boothe Luce tried to "make political hay" out of the appearance of the Tuskegee Institute choir in Washington.

Mrs. Talmadge said that the Daughters of the American Revolution had made the decision to allow the famous negro choral group the use of its Washington auditorium for a June concert without any outside pressure.

She indicated that Mrs. Luce was seeking credit for the DAR decision to permit the concert. Mrs. Talmadge said the decision was made because the DAR believed the choir's appearance in a benefit was a worthy cause.

"The decision represented no change in DAR policy," Mrs. Talmadge said, "and the DAR still regards the hall as private property, subject to its own rules.

Earlier this month Representative Clare Boothe Luce (R., Conn.) sent a telegram to Mrs. Talmadge requesting that the hall be opened to the Tuskegee group which had asked a chance to use it. Mrs. Talmadge's reply to Mrs. Luce said that the Congresswoman was hindering rather than helping the Tuskegee ensemble.

USE WITHOUT COST

Whether Mrs. Luce's message prompted the about-face in D.A.R. policy could not be learned immediately.

Mrs. Talmadge said she had urged the executive committee that the invitation be authorized at once. All of the replies were favorable and declared the use of Constitution Hall should be entirely without cost. Proceeds will go to the United Negro College Fund.

"This is a most splendid undertaking," Mrs. Talmadge said in a statement. "Tuskegee is a great school with a proud record. The benefit concert will be another artistic triumph for this group of gifted singers."

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
INQUIRER
Circ. D. 477,754 S. 1,320,796

APR 25 1946

D.A.R. Hall Open To Negro Choir

WASHINGTON, April 24 (UP).—The Daughters of the American Revolution tonight reversed its position on the appearance of Negro artists in the Constitution Hall by inviting the Tuskegee, Ala., Institute choir to sing there on June 3.

Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge, of Athens, Ga., D.A.R. president-general, announced that the invitation was extended by unanimous vote of the organization's executive committee. Dr. F. D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee, "promptly accepted," she said.

BARRED GREAT ARTISTS

The concert, in honor of Booker T. Washington, Tuskegee founder, will mark a departure from earlier D.A.R. practice of barring Negro artists, including singer Marian Anderson and pianist Hazel Scott, from the hall.

ARDMORE, OKLA.
ARDMOREITE
Cir. D. 8,094 — S. 8,153

APR 25 1946

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15 1946

D. C. (DAR)

WASHINGTON, D. C.
TIMES-HERALD (Eve.)
Circ. D. 193,612

APR 27 1946

D.A.R. Rescinds Racial Ban at Constitution Hall

By ROBERT ADDIE

"With no strings attached," the Daughters of the American Revolution last night reversed their stand against Negro artists by inviting the Tuskegee Institute choir to sing in Constitution Hall on June 3.

In making the offer to Tuskegee, the D.A.R. guaranteed the hall free of charge as well as the services of the employes. The concert will be in honor of Booker T. Washington, founder of the Alabama college and the proceeds will go to the United Negro College Fund.

Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge, of Athens, Ga., president general of the D.A.R., said the invitation was confirmed by unanimous vote of the organization's executive committee and that Dr. F. D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee, who had requested the singing date, had accepted the invitation.

However, the lifting of the ban was seen as only temporary since there is a behind-the-scenes battle with one faction urging no deviation from the policy, written in the constitution in 1932 to bar all but white artists, and the opposition which seeks to eliminate the controversial clause when the D.A.R. congress meets in Atlantic City in May.

First in 15 Years

The Tuskegee concert will mark the first time since 1931 that a Negro ensemble has sung at the hall. On March 21, 1931, the Hampden Institute Choir sang there and shortly thereafter the "white artists only" clause was inserted into the constitution. The "no strings attached" to the present invitation indicates there will be no segregation of Negroes and whites in the audience when Tuskegee comes here.

The D.A.R action in inviting Tuskegee came on the heels of a sharp exchange of telegrams between Representative Clare Boothe Luce (R) of Connecticut, and Mrs. Talmadge earlier this month. Mrs. Luce, representing the Anti-Racial Committee after her home D.A.R. chapter at Stamford, Conn., refused to denounce the national policy, charged "racial discrimination" after requesting Constitution Hall be opened to the Tuskegee choir.

Recalls Anderson Case

The precedent-shattering announcement of the D.A.R. lifted a great many Capital eyebrows in view of the famous Marian Anderson incident of 1939 when the Negro contralto was barred from the hall and eventually sang before 75,000 people in an outdoor Easter concert in front of the Lincoln Memorial.

The storm that broke on the occasion of the 1939 incident threatened to engulf the ivory tower from which the D.A.R. had managed its affairs and when calm prevailed certain important members headed by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt had resigned.

Miss Anderson had another brush with the D.A.R. when the organization invited her to sing in the fall of 1942. But negotiations fell through when Miss Anderson insisted that Negroes should not be segregated and she be permitted to appear in the hall in future concerts.

Harris-Ewing Photo

MRS. JULIUS Y. TALMADGE

Eventually, in January 1943, Miss Anderson did sing at Constitution Hall for the United China Relief. That concert also was a benefit affair.

Last year Hazel Scott, the Negro pianist, was refused a date at the hall.

Mrs. John Bayley O'Brien, chairman of the national press relations committee, D.A.R., pointed out last night in her Bronxville, N. Y., home that the "general public doesn't realize we can't change rules overnight." She pointed out that the elimination of the discriminatory clause would have to be taken up at the May congress, but that as matters now stood there was "not the least change in policy."

Decision Deferred

It was learned that recently the D.A.R. secretly considered barring outside talent to avoid future controversies. However, the matter was put in abeyance for a year because of commitments already made.

In the exchange of letters, Mrs. Talmadge said: "This is a most worthy undertaking and we will help in every way to make it a splendid financial success.

"Tuskegee is a school with a proud record," Mrs. Talmadge continued. "Its noted choir has been an inspiration to millions who have been privileged to attend its concerts or hear it on the radio. The benefit concert for the United Negro College Fund will pack Constitution Hall to the doors and will be another artistic triumph for this group of gifted singers."

Commenting last night on the turnabout, Senator La Follette declared: "I am very grattified to learn that this change in policy has been inaugurated. I hope it means that the ban on artists and others, based on racial issues, has been permanently lifted."

D. A. R. PUTS BAN ON LUCE GROUP

Birmingham Age-Herald
Birmingham Ala

BY JAMES P. HACKETT

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., May 21 —(AP)—The Daughters of the American Revolution outlawed as unconstitutional today Rep. Clare Boothe Luce's 17-woman committee which sought deletion of the words "white artists only" from rental contracts for the D. A. R.'s Constitution Hall at Washington. Wed. 5-22-46

The D. A. R.'s 55th continental congress approved a resolution which "orders the immediate dissolution of said unauthorized committee: and further forbids the use of the terms 'D. A. R.' and 'Constitution Hall' by any person or group of persons now and hereafter without its expressed consent."

Shortly after the resolution was passed Mrs. E. C. Denny Vann, Leonia, N. J., a member of the Luce committee and spokeswoman for the Polly Wyckoff D. A. R. Chapter, of Northern New Jersey, told reporters her delegation would "insist on consideration of our resolution" to have the "white artists only" phrase deleted from the contracts.

Mrs. Grace L. H. Brosseau, Greenwich, Conn., chairman of the resolutions committee, told reporters her committee "isn't afraid to bring out" the Wyckoff Chapter resolution for action on the congress floor, but "we're awfully busy with other things." Wed. 5-22-46

Mrs. Vann said the Luce committee was formed "because we were denied a mailing list," adding:

"We'd much prefer not to do D. A. R. business in the newspapers—to wash our dirty linen every day in the week in public."

Mrs. Vann said her delegation considered itself victorious in the opening stages of the controversy because Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge, Athens, Ga., president general of the D. A. R., had announced the appointment of two committees by the national board of management. One committee, to study the Constitution Hall contracts, was announced by Mrs. Talmadge in her opening address to the congress. A second committee, to study D. A. R. publicity methods, was named in Mrs. Talmadge's report to the congress today.

Mrs. Vann said appointment of the second committee resulted from a resolution offered by the Wyckoff Chapter calling on the D. A. R. to make available a mailing list of chapter regents to chapters proposing resolutions.

Fifteen women were nominated tonight to be D. A. R. vice presidents general.

Six nominees were to be elected to two-year terms without contest. Of the remaining nine, the six drawing the largest votes were to be elected to three-year terms and the remaining three to one-year terms.

Among those nominated for the other nine posts was Mrs. T. H. Napier, Montevallo, Ala.

D.A.R. Head Brands Luce Rebel Chief

Tues.
Louisville Ky.
Courier-Journal

Atlantic City, N. J., May 20 (AP)—Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge of Athens, Ga., president general of the Daughters of the American Revolution, charged tonight that Representative Clare Boothe Luce (R., Conn.) was the leader of a "rebellious group seeking to force a change in our rules governing Constitution Hall at Washington, D. C." 5-21-46

"This little band of women, who style themselves 'loyal members of the D.A.R.,' formed an unconstitutional committee calling itself a 'D.A.R. Committee Against Racial Discrimination in Constitution Hall,' and is, therefore, misrepresenting itself both to the general public and to the membership of the society," Mrs. Talmadge said in an address opening the D.A.R.'s 55th Continental Congress.

Scott Case Recalled

The committee, composed of 17 women, including Mrs. Luce, has submitted a recommendation to the D.A.R. resolutions committee calling for elimination of the words "white artists only" in rental contracts for Constitution Hall.

Last fall Hazel Scott, Negro pianist, was refused permission to rent the hall for a concert and her husband, Representative Adam C. Powell (D.R.A.L.P., N.Y.), brought the matter to the floor of the House of Representatives.

Mrs. Talmadge told the 2,000 delegates to the Congress that the D.A.R. National Board of Management last October "reaffirmed the well-known decision regarding use of Constitution Hall—based upon conformity with the prevailing customs in the District of Columbia."

She said the D.A.R. "has been accused of being un-Christian" and that "there have been personal attacks upon me, the principal reason—seemingly being—that I am a daughter of the South and their purpose is to stir up sectional and racial discord."

To Study Leases

Mrs. Talmadge said a special committee was named at a board meeting last Saturday to study the hall's leases and contracts and that the committee would make a report later.

A D.A.R. spokesman said that in view of appointment of the board committee, the resolution calling for elimination of the "white artists only" clause probably would not be reported out for action by the Congress.

DAR Invites Negro Choir to Sing

Daily Worker N.Y., N.Y.

WASHINGTON, April 26 (UP).—The Daughters of the American Revolution last night reversed its position on the appearance of Negro artists in their Constitution Hall by inviting the Tuskegee, Ala Institute choir to sing there June 3. Mon. 4-29-46

Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge, Athens, Ga., DAR president general, announced that the invitation was extended by unanimous vote of the organization's executive committee.

The concert, in honor of Booker T. Washington, Tuskegee founder, will mark a departure from earlier DAR practice of barring colored artists, including singer Marian Anderson and pianist Hazel Scott from the hall.

"WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS"

If the Daughters of the American Revolution ...

... common devotion to the nation's ... ditions and if they did not call ... ir edifice in Washington Constitu- ... n Hall, they would face much less ... icism for their reluctance to permit ... certs by Negro musicians in the ... hall. Segregation in Washington ... fact, though the only phase of ... r which the Federal Government ... sponsible is the maintenance of separate schools. Hotels, restaurants, theatres and concert halls customarily discriminate. It may be, as Mrs. Julius Young Talmadge, the D. A. R.'s President-General, said the other day at the Atlantic City convention, that "these customs were carefully worked out as best suited for existing conditions and conducive to the greatest happiness and peace for all." But it was not the Negroes who worked them out.

The D. A. R. is not called upon to reform the customs of Washington or of the nation. It does seem, though, that it would be truer to the ideals it purports to represent—and often does represent—if it would hold out the same welcome to gifted Negroes that it does to gifted persons of other races. Negroes have fought as valiantly as whites in all our wars. One of them, Crispus Attucks, fell in the Boston Massacre. His feminine descendants, if he had any, would be literally daughters of the Revolution.

We think those Daughters, including Mrs. Clare Booth Luce, who have protested against "racial discrimination in Constitution Hall" are the ones who are loyal to the spirit of the Declaration of Independence. We hope they win out. We think many of the Signers, slave-holders though they were in their time, would stand with Mrs. Luce. The best of them never believed that progress in human relations ... nd in 1776 or 1787.

D. A. R. Vote Orders Dissolution Of the Luce Anti-Bias Committee

Just One Voice Is Heard in Dissent as Convention Bans Group Seeking to End 'White Artists Only' Clause

New York Times
New York, N.Y.
WCL- 5-22-46

By LUCY GREENBAUM

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., May 21—The fifty-fifth Continental Congress of the Daughters of the American Revolution adopted today, with only one vote heard in dissent, a resolution ordering "the immediate dissolution" of the Committee Against Racial Discrimination in Constitution Hall.

The committee, of whose seventeen members Representative Clare Booth Luce of Connecticut is the most prominent, has been conducting a fight to delete the phrase "white artists only" from contracts for the use of Constitution Hall in Philadelphia, which is owned by the D. A. R. Its letterheads describe it as "a voluntary group of members of the Daughters of the American Revolution."

The resolution as adopted "forbids the use of the terms 'D. A. R.' and 'Constitution Hall' by any person or group of persons now and hereafter without its express consent."

A resolution ordering the deletion of the "white artists only" clause from the contracts still is in the hands of the resolutions committee. Mrs. E. C. Denny Vann of the Polly Wyck Chapter, New Jersey, a member of the outlawed group and author of the pending resolution, declared immediately after the meeting: "I'm not going to withdraw the resolution. I intend to wait to see if the resolutions committee will report it."

Mrs. Grace Brousseau of Greenwich, Conn., chairman of the resolutions committee, said that the resolution in question was "just a side issue now." She added that if the members wanted it brought up, the committee might present it.

Mrs. Vann and Mrs. Brosseau held a private ten-minute discussion in an anteroom of the convention hall after the meeting. Each said later that no decision had been made about future action.

Two interpretations of the results of the convention thus far have been given. Mrs. Vann considered as a victory for the foes of discrimination the appointment of the committee to study Constitution Hall contracts, as announced last night by Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge, president-general of the society.

"We've got the board, which has been—I won't say antagonistic—but rather bewildered, to study the subject, which is delicate," she said. "Sometimes the longest way round is the shortest way home. Now we can work on the members of the new committee."

Mrs. Talmadge announced that three members of the national board, two vice-presidents general, two state regents and, in advisory capacity, Fren Hand, managing director of Constitution Hall, who is attending the convention.

A different point of view was expressed by Mrs. Brosseau, who is also an honorary president general. She said: "When a person who has never been to a D. A. R. meeting in her life forms a group of dissidents, they don't even rate."

After being introduced at the first business session in Convention Hall, Mrs. Brosseau wasted no time in getting to the convention crisis, but read off the resolution to dissolve the committee against discrimination.

Mrs. Talmadge asked for discussion of the question. No one said a word. She caled for the votes of those who favored the resolution. A thunderous chorus of "ayes" greeted her. She asked then for the votes of those who opposed. One voice called out faintly, "no."

Mrs. Vann later said she did not utter the lone "no." She explained, "it came from behind me."

A second resolution was adopted in which the delegates voted "implicit confidence" in the ability of the members of the national board to reach "a wise solution" of any controversial question that might arise. This was greeted with wild applause.

Among the eleven resolutions adopted was one urging the shipment without delay of all necessary food products to relieve human suffering in the world. Another changed the name of the society's national magazine from "Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine" to "National Historical Magazine."

Washington Democracy

Post—Washington D.C.

Washington has strength and beauty. Its Government buildings, avenues and public parks speak for themselves. Yet when we ask ourselves if Washington is a truly democratic city, if it reflects the ideals of Washington, Lincoln or Roosevelt, we can hardly answer in the affirmative. 6-3-46

First and most obviously, our residents do not have the opportunity to vote. Too, Washington has failed completely to stand up for the rights and privileges of its Negro minority. They are inadequately housed; their hospital facilities are sadly lacking. Their school system is even more badly run than that of the whites. City garbage collectors are often careless about collecting refuse from Negro areas. The fact that some of the worst slums in the United States may be found within the shadow of the Capitol bespeaks a weakness and indolence from which a great democracy like the United States should never suffer.

Star-Washington

The solution of Washington's municipal problems rests in the establishment of a democratic municipal government elected by its own citizens. The problem of self-government in the District has been raised many times by the Washington newspapers, and it has always died down. This most important question squarely faces our citizens. It is time for civic groups, community organizations, churches, individuals and the press to unite in a strong and forceful campaign to gain the fundamental rights of democracy for Washington citizens.

Washington D.C.

DAVID C. FULTON.

Washington 6/3/46

PASADENA, CALIF.
STAR-NEWS
Circ. D. 21,174
APR 25 1946

Tuskegee Choir at Constitution Hall

WASHINGTON, April 25, (INS)—The Tuskegee Institute's choir was scheduled today to appear in a precedent-breaking concert June 3 in Constitution Hall where negro artists had previously been barred by the Daughters of the American Revolution.

Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge, DAR president general, said that use of the society's hall will be donated for the performance honoring Booker T. Washington, founder of the noted Tuskegee, Ala., negro college.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
BULLETIN
Circ. D. 639,110
APR 26 1946

An Unjustified Ban Lifted

IN reversing their former position with regard to the appearance of Negro artists in their Constitution Hall at Washington, the Daughters of the American Revolution have done a wise and right thing. They have extended an invitation to the Tuskegee Institute Choir to sing in the hall early in June.

Their former position was unjustified in a representative national body of American women, and especially in an organization whose members pride themselves in their descent from men who fought to make this country free and independent.

They could have learned better from the example of a man the D. A. R. is especially bound to venerate, George Washington. The Father of his Country, on receiving some verses addressed to him by the Negro poetess, Phillis Wheatley, wrote in thanking her that he would be happy to see at his headquarters "a person so favored by the Muses, and to whom nature has been so liberal and beneficent in her dispensations." That might have been said with even greater justice today of Marian Anderson and other richly endowed artists to whom the doors of Constitution Hall have been closed.

America stands today before the world as a nation which in a great war has battled against a pernicious theory and practice of race discrimination. Such discrimination is both unseemly and dangerous in this modern age.

The Tuskegee Choir is singing in various cities for the benefit of the United Negro College Fund. The support of these institutions is of the utmost importance, not only to the race immediately benefited, but to the whole body of American citizens.

MAY 2, 1946
ST. JOSEPH, MO. NEWS-PRESS

522

The D. A. R. Yields on Race

[Milwaukee Journal]

It may be an encouraging sign of the times that the Daughters of the American Revolution have relaxed their ban against the appearance of Negro artists in Constitution Hall, Washington. The Tuskegee Institute choir will give a benefit concert there June 3.

We hope this means the end of race discrimination in the management of the hall and the attitude of the D. A. R. It may be some years before the deep South will yield, as yield it must—eventually. In the meantime, cleaning up Washington, the capital of the nation, is very important.

OAKLAND, CAL.
TRIBUNE
Circ. D. 119,587 - S. 124,245
MAY 4 - 1946

TWICE FOR TOLERANCE

This week scores twice for the side of tolerance and understanding.

A descendant of a slave, Mrs. Emma Clement, a Kentucky Negro whose sons have attained distinction as educators and who, on her own has rendered distinguished service to her State and community has been named by the Golden Rule Foundation as the American Mother of 1946.

And in Washington, the same chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution which one excluded the singer Marian Anderson, because of her color, from appearing at Constitution Hall has invited the Tuskegee Institute choir to sing in that same hall.

If these are signs that the light is spreading, they are good and heartening signs.

D. A. R. Committee Opens Drive to Delete 'White Artists Only' Clause in Hall Leases

New York Times N.Y.
Thurs 4-4-46

Creation of a committee of Daughters of the American Revolution to campaign for deletion of the "white artists only" clause in Constitution Hall leases was disclosed here yesterday by Miss Maeanna Chesterton-Mangle, secretary of the new group.

Nine members of various D. A. R. chapters, including Representative Clare Boothe Luce of the Eunice D. Burr Chapter in Connecticut, are leading the committee's drive against racial discrimination in the renting of the organization's Washington auditorium, she revealed.

The policy pursued by the D. A. R. board in Washington of refusing to open Constitution Hall to such artists as Marian Anderson and Hazel Scott has caused "embarrassment" to many loyal members of the organization, Miss Chesterton-Mangle declared. A writer and lecturer on inter-racial relations, she said she was asked to work with the committee as an "impartial non-D. A. R."

Using mail received by Mrs. Luce and others as a jumping-off point, the D. A. R. Committee Against Racial Discrimination in Constitution Hall is writing to members who have expressed disapproval of the restriction and is asking them to sponsor protest resolutions in their chapters, Miss Chesterton-Mangle related.

It is hoped, she continued, that by May 20, when the fifty-fifth D. A. R. congress convenes in Atlantic City, sufficient chapters will have voted opposition to the "white artists only" policy to insure consideration of the question at the assemblage.

The committee, which has headquarters in her office at 535 Fifth Avenue, emphatically does not sanction withdrawal from the D. A. R., Miss Chesterton-Mangle asserted. Thurs 4-4-46

The names appearing on its letterhead are Mrs. J. M. Dixon, the Free State of Warwick Chapter, Va.; Miss Lucile Green, Acquackonok Landing Chapter, N. J.; Mrs. E. Orme Krebs, Hagerstown Chapter, Md.; Mrs. Luce; Mrs. Charles H. Roberts, Scotch Plains Chapter, N. J.; Mrs. Theodore D. Robinson, Henderson Chapter, N. Y.; Mrs E. C. Denny Vann, Polly Wyckoff Chapter, N. J.; Mrs. Richard P. Hatfield, Scotch Plains Chapter N. J.; and Mrs. Claude C. Var Nuys, Putnam Hill Chapter, Conn

Southern Prejudice Rears Head In Jax

Daily World Atlanta Ga.
Tuesday 7-16-46

JACKSONVILLE, Fla.—(SNS)—Southern prejudice was brougt into the open again here this week and this time the target of attack was not only the Negro race, but a white church.

The Rev. A. J. Kissling, able pastor of the Riverside Presbyterian Church, (white), appeared unconcerned and not a bit disturned this week when he reported that a woman member of his church was circulating a petition asking that scene in a new $15,000 "Great West Window" of the church be changed to confrem to southern traditions.

The Rev. Kissling, whose salary annually is $10,000, at the fashionable church, said he had noted no appreciable dissapproval among the congregation of the window scenes featuring Negroes and that had the movement gained any momentum it would in all likehood have been brought up at the session of the elders this week earlier.

7-16-46

The medallion to which objection was declared to have been expressed depicted a Negro, hat in hand, waiting to apply for a job while in another "Equal Opportunity for All," a Negro stands in a voting line with well and poorly dressed white persons alike, which showed the practice of real democracy.

MEDALIONS DESCRIBED

The Church's description of the portion reputedly objected to by some:

7-16-46

"The six lowest medallions symbolize the types of the resulting transformations of applied Christianity. "IMPROVED WORKING CONDITIONS" come to make healthful the workshops and as the burden of labor and eliminate archaic sweat shop squlor. "BETTER HOUSING" with its comforts takes the place of sordid congestion and misery. "EQUAL OPPORTUNITY" for all races and nations comes with the recognition of "THE INALIENABLE RIGHTS OF MAN." "GOVERNMENT OF, BY, AND FOR THE PEOPLE" will bring freedom of speech and religion and freedom from fear and want. 7-16-46

The new scientific conditions of "COMMUNITY HEALTH" brings healing and prevention of disease to all people. "RECREATIONAL CENTERS" and character building organizations such as the Boy and Girl Scouts take the place of lawless alley gangs.

WHITE MAN ARRESTED FOR SHAKING HANDS WITH A NEGRO

The Florida Tattler Jacksonville, Fla.
Sat. 11-9-46

On Thursday, October 31, at the corner of Ocean and Bay streets, a white man who hails from the State of Oregon, was arrested for shaking hands with a Negro.

The man was taken to police headquarters and later released after three hours of questioning.

Last year this same white man was arrested at the same corner for speaking to a Negro, fined $35.00 for disorderly conduct, and released.

The statement made by the white man to the Tattler was that "he did not know that it was against the law to talk with or shake hands with a Negro, and that he feels that a man is a man regardless of race, color or creed, andthat he will continue to come to Jacksonville on his vacation, regardless."

THE RIGHT TO GROW By Lillian Smith

The Chronicle Detroit, Mich. Sat. 10-5-46

(Reprinted from the Woman's Home Companion)

Today as the world watches the white race, confused, bewildered, arrogant and frightened, standing against the backdrop of time, holding in its hand the most terrible power that men have yet dreamed of, I know only this: It does not matter now how we are labeled. There will be no separation into poor people or rich, Christian or Jew, white or colored, stupid or intelligent, if that bomb drops from the white man's hand. We shall be destroyed together, united in a common dust. I know, with as much certainty as is the right of mortal to hold, that from this time on we live together on this earth as human beings with no barriers between us —or we die. I think it is as simple as that.

And believing this, if I were a Negro woman, I would feel today exactly as I feel as a white woman. However much and often I might be hurt in my personal life, I would hold to this:

The earth we live on belongs to our children. It is theirs and they should feel at home here. They should feel free, whatever their color or creed, to move from place to place, from group to group, and know they are welcome as human beings. Their birthright is a rich one, gathered up through thousands of years, by hands that have toiled hard and minds that have explored fearlessly and hearts that have somehow kept love alive in them. It belongs to every child, this birthright, and from none should it be withheld. Neither parent nor stranger has the right to keep it from the least of these children.

I believe that every child has the right to grow. I believe that his body, his mind, his emotions, his imagination should have the right to maturity. And no child can mature in a segregated world. For where there are walls, growth stops. Where there are barriers, growth stops. Wher there are hate and fear, arrogance and shame, discrimination and hunger, growth stops. A famine has swept the earth bare and children everywhere today are hungry, starving for food, yes—but starving for love also, for esteem, for dignity, for play, for laughter.

An earth fit for growing children is what every woman should work for.

Whatever her color, this is her job. And for the child an earth fit to grow in begins in the home. Here the child first learns what love is and is nourished on it, taking in the warm sweetness of it as he takes in his milk. In the home, the child first learns how it feels to be enjoyed, and there he first learns how it feels to be important. These are three necessities for his growth as a human being. If we give them to our child in the home, no stranger however strong, however cruel, however ruthless, can take them away from him. Only death can deprive the child of these three gifts, once he receives them freely. As a woman, I do not think I could ever forget this, whether my skin were white or colored.

After the child leaves the home, then an earth fit to live in means an earth where he can learn things, where he can play, where he can work, where he can dream and aspire, where he can move among all with dignity and ease. On such an earth there can be no entrances with labels over them, no streets barred off, no books banned, no doors that shut in faces.

For a segregated world is a mad world, a world that turns away from life, from knowledge, from human intercourse, from reality—that turns toward death. Our mental hospitals are full of patients who have lost the way back to reality, having gone so far from it. We have put them behind walls. But all of us are behind the walls today, so many walls of fear and hate and ignorance that sometimes there seems no longer room anywhere for a child to grow. Woman's job, and man's too, is to clear wider spaces in hearts and minds and imaginations and to break down the barriers that shut people away from one another.

We know the man holding that atom bomb in his hand did not finish his growing. His body, mind, emotions and imagination have not, all of them, reached maturity. He is a giant in strength and mentality, with an adolescent's confidence, a child's understanding, an infant's wisdom. And some woman was his mother who did not finish her job either.

I am just one woman, no better, no worse than men, whose color does not matter, but one who is close to children, who knows how hard it is to grow a child and how easy it is to kill one. I cannot speak for all women but I can speak for myself: I want to take that bomb out of that giant's hand as quickly as possible and put it where it belongs, stripped of its power and danger.

I want to say to a world that has lost its way: The unpardonable sin for you, for me, for every human, is to have more knowledge than understanding, more power than love, to know more about the earth than about the people who live on it, to invent quick means of traveling to far-away places, when one cannot grope one's way inside one's own heart. Freeedom is a dreadful thing unless it goes hand in hand with responsibility. Democracy among men is a specter except when the hearts of men are mature.

And I would like to say to the white race: Come, let us learn together the lessons of humility. Let us, one by one, go back to the room where we were born and search through the memories we left there. Let us go back to the place where we stopped growing. Let us find what it was that turned us again to infantilism, that kept us adolescent, that makes us brag and boast and strut our superiority.

I would like to say: Let us look deep for the weakness that drove us to the making of machines for an outward strength to lean on. Let us search our culture for the worm at the heart of it. Let us learn why we conferred dishonor upon love and gave the spirit's prestige to hate. Then, with this knowledge of self and of people, let us with confidence strip away the superstructure we have erected within our hearts to make us feel big, the skyscraper we have built in our minds to make us look tall.

Let us with quiet dignity step down from the stilts worn so long and so awkwardly and walk the earth once more as men.

On Race Prejudice

The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.

Your recent editorial, evoked by the findings of Dr. Else Brunswik in a study of racial persecutions, is both timely and needed.

The Negro is here not of his own volition but because of the greed and inhumanity of the white man. Under our amended Constitution Negroes are given all the rights, liberties and privileges of the white citizen, but these rights we have oftentimes denied or abridged by denying to them equal educational facilities and the right of suffrage, neither of which have we any moral or constitutional right to do.

As for the persecution of the Jews, are we ungrateful and unmindful of the fact that the most inspirational, the most profound and noblest literature of the ages was given us by them, a literature wherein we find the most stirring and breath-taking dramas, the loveliest idyls, the greatest tragedies, the most beautiful narratives, romances, folk stories and the authentic history of the creation? Yes, their literature treats of every phase of life, both human and divine, every relationship and activity, every type and personality—none is neglected—a literature so rich in its fascinating charm and perfection of form that the great writers of the ages have referred to it for knowledge, inspiration, form and pattern.

Are we to persecute a people to whom God revealed Himself as to no other, a people to whom was given the first and only theocratic government and wno gave to us the first monotheistic worship in a paganistic world, a people so inherently strong that persecution, exile, captivity, oppression and partial extermination can not daunt their spirit or rob them of their national characteristics of racial purity, energy, thrift and religious zeal?

Yes, it might be well to pause and contemplate the course we pursue and the ground we tread upon when persecuting the Jew.

W. H. CRAWFORD.

Greensburg, Ky. Tues. 12-17-46

The Negro People Are Aroused

By Claudia Jones Daily Worker

New York, N.Y.

Much more than seething indignation against lynch terror and disgust with the do-nothing policies of the Administration exists today among the Negro people. **Above all, it is evident that the Negro people are seeking fundamental answers to their oppression, and that there is a growing birth of pessimism and cynicism.**

Even before the war's end, the Negro people were asking for guarantees at home as well as abroad; they were vigorously demanding an end to Jimcrow in an army which was fighting the fascists and their theories of "aryan superiority." But still their eyes were lifted to the hills. The Negro people hoped that by shedding their blood with those of other peoples to defeat a common fascist enemy—a greater share of democracy would be theirs. Tues. 9-17-46

WHAT PEOPLE THINK

What then, are the thoughts of a people who see their veteran sons being shot down in the swamps of Mississippi, Louisiana, Columbia, Tenn.; Monroe, Ga.; and Freeport, L. I.? They see men of the same fascist mentality whom a nation helped to defeat holding the trigger. They are daily comparing Bilboism with Nazism. And they are cynically asking "What is the difference between the lynchings of Negroes and the pogroms of the Jews in Germany?"

In recent weeks every single Negro newspaper posed these questions in one way or another. Some, like the **Afro-American** and the **Philadelphia Tribune** are beginning a serious campaign urging Negroes to leave the South; others are speaking in serious tones of reliance on their own (that is, the Negro's efforts). Still others express growing cynicism to the two-faced pro-war policies of America at home and abroad.

One Negro columnist put it this way:

"A war threatens because American fliers were shot down while flying over Yugoslavia. Secretary of State Byrnes had directed an ultimatum to Tito. I don't know enough about the facts to say whether or not the fiery note to Yugoslavia is justified. Again I wonder why the U. S. is willing to go to war to protect its citizens flying over a foreign nation and yet will do nothing to assure the safety of its citizens in Georgia."

Of course the arrogant ultimatum to democratic Yugoslavia is of the same cloth as the contempt shown towards punishing the lynchers of American citizens. It is becoming more and more possible to singularly expose the two-faced role of American imperialism by its policies towards the Negro people at home. For the oppression of the Negro people at home is the big white lie of American "preachments" of democracy for other nations abroad.

Yes, the Negro people understand more and more the significance of these things. **But we would have a mote in our eye if we didn't simultaneously recognize that they are concerned as never before with the lynch terror; they are wearying of the unpunished attackers; they are wondering why much more hasn't been done by the democratic American people who hate fascism.**

A Southern Negro veteran recently conveyed to me the temper of the Negro people in the South—and elsewhere, by a single incident.

In a crowded southern railroad Jimcrow car a Negro man was being slurred and jostled about by the Jimcrow conductor. With obvious anger, the man took the jostling but straightened up stating for all to hear: "PAY DAY IS COMIN'!" Every Negro in that car, my young Southern friend told me, knew what he meant.

Yes, payday is coming. But will it mean, a payday based on heightened Negro-white unity; a payday based on a thunderous struggle—needed to stop lynch terror? One that can result in passage of a new anti-lynch bill; the impeachment of Bilbo and Rankin, federal punishment now by death for lynchers of Negro citizens? 9-17-46

Progressives, labor and especially Communists, know that to reach that day involves cementing of the alliance of the Negro people and labor. Truly and justifiably, the Negro people are today measuring friends and allies in this wise—by those who come to their aid now. Underlying their concern at federal inaction against lynchings is also this factor.

Literally then, a crusade is needed to compel government action now. Such a crusade that can turn the tide is in the making. It is contained in the epic pilgrimage to Washington, D. C., Sept. 23, entitled "An American Crusade Against Lynchings." Headed by Paul Robeson and Dr. Albert Einstein, it coincides with the approximate anniversary of Lincoln's first draft of the Emancipation Proclamation. Then—anti-slavery fervor reached new heights. Will 20th Century Americans match their fervor?

The times say we must. The date is Sept. 23, Washington, D. C. Reach the planners of the Crusade at 23 West 26 St.—today.

THE PU

Likes McGill Piece

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Editor Constitution: Ralph McGill's editorial, "Lo, the Poor Christian!" arrests my attention and leads me to say a word. The article was well done in my estimation, and was spoken in the spirit of Christian charity, I hope. I found myself agreeing rather mournfully, but still feel compelled to add a word or so that I feel was neglected. Thurs. 10-31-46

Believe or not, there are a few Christians who are primarily interested in Christianity and not churchianity. And we who are Christian by profession of faith do not ask others to do as we do or be as we are, but rather to follow Christ and let us all strive together. Church squabbles and

multiple doctrines have caused Christianity no end of chiding and embarrassment down through the ages. These deplorable controversies are no pride to us, but we try to realize that these differences of ritual and belief root in the basic differences of individual personality causing the kind of trouble that results when half of a family like beans and half do not; thus some provision must be made for the appetites of both, else they hunger for physical nourishment. Sectarianism comes from varieties of spiritual appetites, but it must be remembered that the process of eating is always for the one ultimate reason—sustentation of life. Remember, also, that the essence of Christ's ministry was to deal with respect for the individual personality.

So it is that the church is crying for peace today, saying it is the only balanced diet that will save us from acute indigestion and death. True charity should begin in the home. But if the church waited to become perfect before it asks the world to be Christian, it would soon be destroyed completely by un-Christian forces and wars. This is no time to be quibbling over sectarianism or oil fields; the salvation of the world is at stake. Our preachers cry out and exhort the people of this earth to pray not because they consider themselves or their churches wholly Christian, but because they know that the spirit of Christ which is the golden rule of unselfishness is our only salvation for the individual, or the church, or the world.

The church cannot save the day . . . but Christ can. And we who are Christian must pray or all will perish. More prayers by our well-meaning preachers and their laymen will help sectarianism and world peace—and wouldn't hurt the souls of those who pray either. If we could get a praying church, a praying people and a praying nation we might understand the words of Tennyson: "More things are wrought by prayer than this world dreams of." It is not the power of the church that counts but the power of God to work in the hearts and lives of men who pray.

The church is an instrument of Christianity; yes, it is unworthy, incomplete, and filled with every sin. But it is still brave enough to voice the call of Christ: "Follow Me." That's what counts, Mr. McGill. And this weary world had better listen—and pray.

I realize Mr. McGill has every respect for Christianity as such, but why does he refer to the church as "they"? When more so-called prophets and people of integrity will shoulder the blame and challenge of Christ's church, then the religion of the Master will go somewhere. And brother, we'd better start going somewhere or we'll all end up you know where.

MARGARET LILLY,
Candler School of Theology,
Emory University.

'Would Not'

Editor Constitution: I have just finished reading your article, "Lo, the Poor Christian."

I want to offer a mild criticism of your phraseology in the last paragraph, namely "cannot."

God or Christ never commanded men to do anything that they could not do.

When men failed to do what they were commanded to do, the cause was attributed to "You WOULD not," and not you could not.

JOHN C. BOYD.
Atlanta.

Editor Constitution: "Lo, the Poor Christian" was wonderful. Personal interest and personal effort will be the only way to solve world conditions and arrive at the "Peace on Earth" being sought. I wish you would write more in the same vein. People read your articles! More power to you.

GENE BERKEY.
Atlanta.

The Way

Editor Constitution: I have just finished reading your column, "Lo, the Poor Christian." I am a regular reader of your writings, and now is as good time as any to say that I enjoy reading them. Almost all of them present a picture to me of having been carefully thought out and properly studied.

Undoubtedly on this one you did not go to the proper source for your study.

I hardly think it necessary for any of us to become frightened at what our would-be experts on the mind of Christ are saying or what they advocate.

Jesus himself, while here during his ministry and teachings, said just such things would happen. He urged all people who would be Christians to, "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things will be added unto you." Mat. 6:33.

10-29-46-Tue.

This, I believe, includes everything necessary for a complete life. To do this, it is necessary to begin at the end of life and work your way back. Then, and then only, will we see the picture that Jesus was trying to give us. In saying this, I believe Jesus was trying to carry us to a point in life where God carried Moses, on top of Mt. Nebo. That we might be privileged to look inside and beyond the end of life.

When we see all the confusion and lack of understanding and fear existing throughout the world today, I am led to believe that too few people have entered in at the straight gate. "Because strait is the gate and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it." Mat. 7:14.

I believe if any expert on the mind of Jesus ever lived, it was the Apostle Paul. His teachings centered around three things. First, Love; second, Knowledge and understanding; and third, Unity. All these things we find woefully lacking in our lives today, Mr. McGill. So, I would conclude by saying; There are quite a few conditions to be met and dealt with before we can expect any degree of peace.

I am a member of the First Baptist Church, East Point, and I believe I can assure you that if all the Baptist Churches close up, the world will continue to go on as usual. But, get this please! With a REAL REBORN CHRISTIAN, its not the Church they belong to, but it's what prompted the act of desire of going into whatever Church you belong to. They stumble, because they don't know the way.

J. S. LARAMORE.
East Point, Georgia.

'Give Me Your Hand'

Editor Constitution: When you write on the church, the only quarrel I have with you is that you just do not do it often enough. Especially do I like your column this morning, "Lo, the Poor Christian," and I am taking the liberty of reprinting, in part, your words on the front of our church bulletin. Certainly you prove yourself a follower in heart, if not in actual church membership, of John Wesley who said, "If your heart beats with my heart in love for Jesus Christ, then give me your hand." Some of us Methodists have not quite reached that position, but I do believe the vast majority of us feel that way toward other Christian groups.

Because you put your finger so skillfully on a very sore spot, I would imagine you will get some rather healthy howls of pain from some of your readers. But I do believe Christianity is moving in the right direction and I hope you will continue to write along that line.

10-29-46-Tue.

Ten years ago I wrote a rather long paper about church union. I have been hammering away at this sort of thing all along and I dream of seeing in my lifetime a united Protestantism.

Thanks very much for 'Lo, the Poor Christian."

CHARLES L. ALLEN.
Thomson, Ga.

'Simple Justice,' That's All

The Times-Dispatch Sat. 10-12-46

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

I do wish the article by Thomas Lomax Hunter (Oct. 9) could be published in every newspaper in the country, especially the ones circulated in the South. I am glad to note that one Southern white man realizes that what the Negro wants is "simple justice," not social equality.

E. C. FERGUSON.
Richmond.

Richmond, Va. Times-Dispatch

The Cavalier

Times-Dispatch Richmond, Va. Wed. 10-9-46

INTERRACIAL relations in Dixie is a delicate and difficult subject for candid discussion in that region, but there are problems, which for the good of both races, must now be frankly met and solved. First, we must all admit that the Southern Negro is a good American, and that he has long given in the way of couretsy more than he has received. He has endured, with heroic patience, indignities hard to endure. The time has come to recognize his right to have these indignities abated.

One cannot expect the Negro, in his present state of development, to longer tolerate Jimcrowism without acknowledging himself an inferior person.

There is no longer any valid reason for denying to the Negro the courtesy of the title *Mr.* or *Mrs.* or *Miss.* It is a poor white man who is not willing to be as polite to the Negro as he expects the Negro to be to him.

I have never seen any attempt on the part of the Negro to obtrude himself socially on the white man. The Negro does not believe in social equality, nor does he practice it. His social stratification is as distinct as that of the white man. What the Negro wants and demands is simple *justice.* He is naturally indignant at the idea he must recognize himself as an inferior person because of his race. His race is not an inferior one physically or mentally. His intellectual opportunities in this land have been very recent and very limited. In spite of this his achievements in the arts and sciences have been notable.

WITH the leaders of the Negro race today, such types as *Old Mammys* and Uncle Toms are representative of a period that is passed and they rightly hold that it is time for them to vanish as racial representatives.

When you hear a white man say, "I like a Negro in his place," always he means an inferior and subservient place, and one but little removed from that which he occupied in the days when he was a chattel.

We live in a land where superiority is individual, and not a matter of birth. To attempt to uphold any other sort of superiority is to deny those fundamental truths on which this Republic rests. The law does not interfere with our choice of associates. That is a field in which we are as free to choose as we are to choose our religious faith or political faith. All that is required of us is that we accord this right to all people.

In all my relations with the Negro of my neighborhood my only difficulty has been to be as courteous to him as he is to me. I have no desire to affront the Negro with the assumption that he is an inferior person, or that I am better than he is because of integumental pigmentation.

I HAVE been blessed with a long life and nearly all of it has been spent with the Negro as my neighbor and friend. Anything which can cause friction between the white man and the Negro of the South is a personal offense to me.

I know that in his hunt for friendship and understanding he sometimes takes counsel with enemies of the South who would set him against his white neighbors in that land, and such people give him advice which, if acted on, would bring calamity on both races.

I have watched the upward march of the Negro in the last half a century and while it doubtless has seemed hard and tedious to him, nevertheless I believe that it is without parallel in human history. There is not a race in the world which has not at some time in its history endured slavery, and none which has recovered from it more quickly than the American Negro.

I am glad to see the Negro fighting for his rights and his proper place as an American citizen. Of course, he has been persecuted and some of these persecutions he still endures. He is winning his way, and I want to see him win it. I would be distressed if he took counsel of rage and hate.

One of his many good qualities is his natural friendliness and good nature. The joy of life is in him. He is nearly always singing, and he has been the moulder of the American music. I do not want him to relinquish any of his freeborn American rights. I want him to have of America anything I may have and on the same terms. I want him to keep marching onward and upward with resolution in his heart and a song on his lips. It is the shortest road to the land of his heart's desire.

Record Disproves NORC Poll Results

The Afro-American

Mistreatment Strong, Says Council Director

FALSE VIEW GIVEN

Baltimore, Md.

Inadequate Coverage Found in Many Areas

Sat. 8-17-46

CHICAGO—"Colored people are not receiving fair treatment in the United States," according to A.A. Liveright, executive director of the American Council on Race Relations, who charged a recent opinion poll on the subject had created a false impression of the true situation.

Speaking before the Society for Social Research at the University of Chicago, Aug. 9, Liveright refuted the report of the National Opinion Research Center, Denver, that 66 per cent of the white Americans polled believed that "most colored people are being treated fairly."

Because many persons reading the results of the poll mistake ...

... ures published for actual facts, ... he declared, "Public opinion polls, ... although a valuable medium for ... determining the temper of public ... opinion, are frequently mislead... ...ng unless carefully framed and ... reported."

Employment Reduced

In refuting the NORC findings, ... Liveright stated that both the final ... report by the FEPC and the Census Bureau's rates from July, 1945, to May, 1946, show a consistently higher rate of unemployment among colored workers and a sharper over-all cut in wages.

Then quoting from Robert Weaver's testimony before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee in Dec., 1945, he added that minorities are suffering from the nation-wide housing shortage much more than the general population as a result of "arbitrary restrictions to low-income jobs, inadequate land area and dwelling facilities."

Facts About GIs, Vets

Further more, he cited as proof findings to show that colored people do not have an equal share in the armed forces, pointing to the suspension of enlistments as an indicaiton of that fact.

In addition, he said that although no GI legislation differentiates between colored and white in the...

Finally reviewing recent events proving deprivation of civil rights, Liveright suggested that as a public service future polls be accompanied by at least full, accurate and honest coverage of the facts in the situation.

NOT THE CROSS OF CHRIST

Birmingham Ala. News

Five burning crosses, the symbol of the Ku Klux Klan, appeared Wednesday night in Birmingham, one of them near a Negro school.

It is a travesty that the Cross of Christ, the symbol of love for all mankind, should be appropriated by a shadow organization whose business is hate.

In Atlanta, for many years Klan headquarters, they are passing out application blanks once again. The blank contains these words:

"I, the undersigned, a native-born, true and loyal citizen of the United States of America, being a white male, Gentile person of temperate habits, sound in mind and a believer in the tenets of the Christian religion, maintenance of white supremacy, principles of 'pure Americanism,' do most respectfully apply for membership in the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan." *Thur. 4-11-46*

A man formerly known as the imperial wizard of the Klan was listed in official registration papers filed March 22 in Atlanta as "president" of the Klan corporation. The Georgia Klan "dragon" is quoted as saying, triumphantly: "A great many persons thought the Klan had folded up, but that is not so. It has always held its charter."

How right is the "dragon"! As far back as our history goes there has been a "charter" for men who love brutality and cruelty. Hitler was one of the super dragons. He considered himself "a white male, Gentile person of temperate habits," and he believed in the principles of "pure Germanism."

Hitler and his kind brought civilization to the very brink of disaster, and most of those who truly desire to see the world returned to peace and decency are convinced that there is only one way—by the Cross of Him who loved all men. That is the cross of life.

The cross that burned in Birmingham Wednesday night is truly the cross of hell, and its meaning is death.—Montgomery Advertiser. *Thur. 4-11-46*

Justice, Not Democracy

Richmond Times Dispatch

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

My inquiry (April 26) for a definition of democracy appears to have aroused some interest as well as some differences of opinion of a minor degree. *Sun. 5-5-46*

In my letter I failed to state fully my views on the race issue. In brief they are that the Negro is entitled to the same justice and opportunity as the white man, but justice and democracy are not synonomous. Strange as it may seem, there are some in the North who do not hesitate to express the views that the Negro is destined to rule this country politically, and they welcome the day. I am not so sure that Mrs. Roosevelt does not entertain the same hope. *Sun. 5-5-46*

Segregation of the races is as fair for one as it is for the other, provided they have equal accommodations. Why they should wish to mingle is more than I can see.

No one can deny that there are some in the North (fortunately, they do not represent the leading citizens) who would like to see the Negro put in authority over the whites in the South. Nevertheless, they would not take their own medicine. *Richmond Va.*

As for the Constitution, someone has well said that the Constitution is what the Supreme Court says it is, and the court is by no means always in agreement.

Hampton. H. L. BAPTIST.

Equality, Period

Atlanta Constitution

Editor, Constitution: Of all the speakers at the Book Fair Monday night it remained for two men claiming Southern ancestry to show the bad taste and worse manners of injecting the unpleasant racial controversy into an otherwise pleasant occasion.

Both James Street and Jonathan Daniels explained their Southern ancestry at considerable length and then shouted "I am for equality, period." It is the first time I ever saw the type of man known as the "professional Southerner." I can do without seeing any more of them. *Atlanta Ga*

Messrs. Street and Daniels, as do many propaganda authors, seem willfully to ignore the obvious fact of white racial superiority, evident and manifest in every form of modern civilization. Who built the great, rich, and powerful nations of the world? Who built the great universities, scientific laboratories, industries, and transportation systems of the world? Who founded the church of the Gentle Nazarene? On whom are the colored nations of the world dependent? The answer, of course, is white men. *Sun. 5-5-46*

This white leadership in the world cannot be handed as a gift to peoples less talented for modern civilization. It can only be sabotaged to the other peoples' level by the Streets and the Daniels. Human rights and Christianity have nothing whatever to do with it. It is a psychological make-up, not an emotional phantasy. MURRAY HOWARD.

161 Spring St., N. W.

Against 'Mongrelization'

Richmond Times Dispatch

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

In The Times-Dispatch of April 28 is a letter entitled "Who Is to Blame?" in which the author, George Wyche, of Hopewell, belabors the continued discrimination against the black man.

He and other people, both black and white, should realize that it is not a question of purposeful discrimination by whites against Negroes, but a problem of preservation of racial integrity; that the barrier between the two races is not intended to be hateful, but to preserve the integrity of both races. *Richmond, Va.*

History has proven that mongrel nations are weak. We wish to remain strong. Therefore, we reject the idea of mongrelization, which progresses most rapidly when two or more races are in constant contact with one another. Close contact between the white and black races leads to rapid interbreeding. In our drastic attempts to retain racial purity, the white race has been accused (and rightly) of intolerance and discrimination against the black race. However, we would rather be moderately intolerant of the black man than to have both races lose their individual characteristics by becoming a nation of mongrels.

There are only two answers to the problem: mongrelization and separation. To keep our children from becoming mongrels, we prefer separation of the races so that the integrity of each shall be preserved. *Fri 5-10-46*

The American Negro needs a "Moses" to lead him to his promised land—perhaps Liberia.

J. GUY LANCASTER.

Farmville.

Fraternity System

Washington Post, D.C.

The action of the Vermont sorority chapter which got into trouble with its national president by pledging a Negro girl has brought forth some curious points of view. *Fri 5-3-46* Charles J. Murphy, in his letter of April 30 concludes: "Those that are rejected by social groups can start groups of their own and exclude whomever they don't like." In other words, if you have been snubbed, you can "get a bit of your own back" by snubbing someone else, who in turn snubs someone else, and so on down the line. (Presumably the untouchables at the bottom of the snubbing scale will be frustrated because they will have no one to exclude or snub.)

It seems to me that we have here the basis of most national and racial hatreds. Peoples who lack true assurance and self-confidence seek to bolster themselves by finding people in a less advantageous position than themselves, whom they can look down on. No one, for instance, is more snobbish and intolerant toward the Negro and the Mexican than the poor white, who, lacking economic and social standing himself, tries to show that he is "better" than people whose skin is darker than his.

Since it is easier to dislike people who look, talk or act different from ourselves, national and racial minorities are usually the victims of small-minded people who are trying to compensate for feelings of inferiority by finding someone whom they can safely snub or exclude.

Mr. Murphy, writing of Mary Evans, who concludes that sororities are intrinsically undemocratic anyway, says: "She overlooks entirely the fact that we have the right as individuals and as groups to choose our own friends and acquaintances." Wasn't this exactly what members of the Vermont sorority tried to do—choose a member because they liked her, and not on the basis of her financial or social standing? However, this privilege is forbidden them. This was not a question of "forcing" anyone to associate with anyone he didn't like—every member of the sorority chapter wanted this girl as a member. *Fri 5-3-46*

I say more power to girls who have the courage and daring to practice the brotherhood of man, a principle which we tolerate in Sunday sermons, but regard as radical and possibly un-American when put into practice. A. W.

Washington.

SOCIOLOGIST SCORES U.S. POLICY IN EAST

New York Times

Dr. Kennedy of Yale Charges We Are Applying 'Jim Crow' Attitude to the World

New York, N.Y.

Dr. Raymond Kennedy, Associate Professor of Sociology at Yale University and former special consultant on Far Eastern affairs to the State Department and the Office of Strategic Services, asserted yesterday that the Indonesian struggle for independence was in grave doubt because of the lack of international support.

Russia, the only one of the big powers supporting Indonesian independence, is making capital every day in Southeast Asia just by taking a stand, Dr. Kennedy declared before the Eastern Sociological Society meeting at Columbia University.

"The British," Dr. Kennedy asserted, "were given the responsibility of entering the Indies to receive the surrender of the Japanese, since the Dutch had only small forces available. The republican leaders of the natives assured the British that they would cooperate with them fully but warned that Dutch troops would be resisted. *Sun. 5-5-46*

"The British were to disarm the Japanese and release Allied prisoners. Contrary to the mandate they received from the Allied Command, the British brought contingents of Dutch with them, allowed Japanese to police certain areas and even employed them in actual combat against the Indonesians, and announced that they intended to insure safe entry of Dutch forces before leaving Indonesia. The latter action they did on their own. It was not in the terms of the mandate defining their mission.

"America's stand is the crucial factor which turned the balance against Indonesian independence. Other Asiatic countries would support the revolution if they were in a position to do so. China, however, is torn with internal strife; Japan is beaten, and India and the Philippines have their own problems.

"Great Britain is fighting for the life of imperialism. France is following Britain's policy because of Indo-China. The position of the United States is against our ideals. We feel the need to support our allies, the Netherlands and Great Britain. *Sun. 5-5-46*

"America has retreated to a policy of 'hands off' with the hope that all will turn out well. The provincialism, ignorance and isolation of the American public and many American statesmen is applying a 'Jim Crow' attitude to the world. White people, we think, are superior and should be kept in charge over the dark-skinned peoples of the world.

"Once revolutionists, our wealth and power make us more and more conservative. We distrust revolutions and radicalism. We have always had a double standard of democracy in this country in regard to colored people and are now supporting the same double standard in regard to all the colored people of the world.

"The State Department is dominated by a European point of view while the American press has taken at face value reports from the Dutch Press Bureau. THE NEW YORK TIMES, for instance, probably our most influential newspaper, has made several editorial comments on the Indonesian issue. Most of them, like most TIMES editorials, have been so lifeless and equivocal as be harmless, but several have been openly hostile, on erroneous grounds, to the nationalist movement."

Professor Kennedy lived for four years in Indonesia and is the author of "The Ageless Indies" and "Islands and Peoples of the Indies."

Jerome Davis, talking on "The Treatment of Minorities in the Soviet Union" at the afternoon session, declared that minority groups within the Soviet Union have cultural autonomy. It is part of the national planning, he said, to develop each group economically and to encourage the preservation of customs. *Sun. 5-5-46*

Dr. George P. Murdock of Yale University described the Jewish problem as being cultural rather than racial. A minority of Jews, he asserted, is opposed to cultural affiliation, while the Zionist movement opens the way for attacks on Jews as possessing un-American attitudes. The handling of a minority problem rests with the minority itself, rather than with the rest of the population, he said.

Speakers at the morning session were Dr. Leo Lowenthal of the Institute of Social Research of Columbia University, on "Techniques of the American Agitator"; Dr. Harry Alpert of City College, Arthur L. Wood of Bucknell University, Lee Emerson Deets of Hunter College, E. Horace Fitchett of Howard University, Clarence E. Glick, chairman of the Sociology Department of Tulane University, and David L. and Mary A. Hatch of Clark University.

WOMEN HEAR LEADERS DEMAND ACTION NOW ON MINORITY PROBLEMS

Daily Bulletin, Dayton, Ohio
Sat 1-26-46

WASHINGTON, Jan. 24 (ANP) —Minority problems in this country were ventilated Wednesday at an all-day school sponsored by the voteless D. C. League of Women voters (white) at the Mayflower hotel which packed the grand ballroom with interested white and colored persons.

The 10 speakers concluded that now is the time for realistic, intelligent, unprejudiced and forthright action if we are to survive as a democracy. Representing Negroes on the program were Miss Elsie Austin, OPA attorney, and former head of the Delta Sigma Theta sorority, and Lester Granger, executive secretary, National Urban

Miss Austin asked her audience to try to make the transition for a few minutes of being colored while she dramatically and eloquently catalogued the vicious cycle of color prejudice that bests Negroes from the cradle to the grave. She pointed out that members of the U. S. armed services had spread the poison of color prejudice throughout the world to such an extent that Japanese and Fiji islanders are hurling hated epithets to Negroes wearing the uniform of our fighting arms.

"Racial Tensions in the Postwar World" were graphically described by Mr. Granger. "In race relations this is America's year of decision just as truly as it is in matters affecting international relations and economics," he said. *Sat 1-26-46*

"America must make up her mind whether she will hold fast to the considerable gains made during the war as a step toward real democracy that transcends race or whether she will cast aside these gains and sink back into the noisome depths of superstition, bigotry, suicidal competition which have marked relationships between whites and Negroes for 100 years.

"As long as people are afraid of their future, they will fear their neighbors."

The Rev. A. Davies, minister of All Soul's Unitarian church, a native of England, said Americans will have to learn to live, work, play, study and plan together for our future or there is no hope left for survival. He called presidential restrictive covenants one of the most vicious forms of bigotry ever conceived by man and urged his hearers to start now to eliminate such practices.

For those who want to continue segregation he offered a plan. "I would suggest three categories," he said. "One I would call just plain 'Americans' which would include all groups in our national life who want to build a better world together without reference to race or color or religion. Another group I would call 'Americans—White: Sub-standard'" for white who refuse to mix with any but white people, and for Negroes who refuse to mix with whites I would label, 'Americans sub-standard, non-whites.'" *Sat 1-26-46*

"—AS OTHERS SEE US"

Advertiser, Montgomery, Ala.

Pearl S. Buck, in a recent article in the New York Times Magazine, makes the somewhat startling statement that "we Americans are the most hated and feared of all nations." There are several good reasons, Mrs. Buck thinks, for this fear and hate.

In the first place, we possess the atom bomb, and have already proved that we stand ready to use it without warning on our enemies. This is enough to make everybody fear and distrust us, regardless of our professions of faith in UNO and the Atlantic Charter. We may talk all we please about peace and the Four Freedoms, but we will have to do something practical and irrevocable about the big stick we hold behind us before the rest of the world takes our soft talk at its face value. *Sat 5-4-46*

Mrs. Buck says we are in the unhappy role of a rich man living in a mansion in the middle of a slum, and determined to keep on living well despite the misery and suffering around him. We are the only nation to come out of the war richer and stronger than we went into it.

We are hated also because too many Americans have been misbehaving in countries in which Americans had formerly been known for their good works and exemplary conduct. The "liberators" have suddenly changed into despoilers. We are hated in Europe because we live well while the Europeans are starving. We are hated in Asia because we are contentedly running with those who run rough-shod over the meek and lowly, and because we preach democracy and practice discrimination.

We are hated in Asia also, Mrs. Buck says, for something far more profound. The real root of the hatred against us is that, to suppressed and miserable people everywhere our national ideals, ideals which have stood for a century as lamps lighted in a dark world, have been sacrificed in this war. The idol they worshipped has been found to have feet of common clay.

It is rather ironic that we who are hated and feared should be seeking leadership, moral and intellectual as well as material and physical, among peoples who have reasons to distrust us. *Sat 5-4-46*

Somehow we must drop our big stick, quit advertising our affluence as we distribute relief, and correct the manners and modes of conduct that have brought into disrepute not only our system of education, but even the American way of life. We must learn to discipline ourselves both at home and abroad if we ever expect to be accepted as the leaders of other peoples.

THE LIVING SOUTH

Tampa, Florida

By HAROLD PREECE

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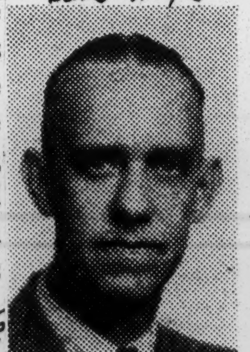
Tampa Bulletin

CELLMATES FOR VINCE MUSE

Ever since I nominated Old Vance Muse of the Christian American mob as my favorite candidate for the penitentiary, I've been worrying my wife about who would be his cellmate.

Sat 5-11-46



Old Vance, you'll remember, is the 6-foot Texas storm trooper who started that rumor during the war that Southern Negroes were starting "Eleanor Clubs" to keep the white folks from having household help. His mob is the one, backed by the Florida citrus growers and the Arkansas cotton growers, which pushed through the so-called 'right to work amendment" outlawing the union closed shop in those two states.

Now, my good wife says that I'm too soft-hearted and let Vance Muse share his cell with a rat. But I just hate to think ... thing in the s... his lonesome a... somebody to tal...

Well, brothers, ...k I've located two men to be Vance Muse's cellmates in that day when the prison doors shall swing open for the South's people and swing shut for the South's tarbucket gang. And I wish the three of them long life—in their cells.

Mr Harden of Tenn.

The first cellmate that I've picked out for Vance Muse is one P. L. Harden who calls himself a Negro and a lawyer. Tennessee Negroes whom I know des... Brother Harden as "the jackleg of Jackson." They figure that he'll be taking himself with his "Southern Association for the Improvement of Colored Citizens," which he carries around in his hat, out of Jackson, Tenn., before very long.

Harden, as you may have read in the press, is helping Prosecutor Paul F. Bumpus frame up the 31 Negroes who have been indicted at Columbia, Tenn., for answering the ku kluxers with buckshot instead of hat-tipping. Bumpus—what a fitting name for a Southern prosecutor—is playing up in the papers a letter from Harden saying "let Tennessee handle it" and "the quicker the matter is settled and forgotten the better off we all will be." *Sat 5-11-46*

As the California Eagle of Los Angeles commented in its issue of April 11:

"To this Uncle Tom, the quicker the heroic men and women who fought back and defeated an organized lynching are railroaded to death the better."

"The better" for Vance Muse with his mad dog race propaganda against citizens like Eleanor Roosevelt. "The better" for Vance Muse with his well-oiled campaigns in Texas, Florida, Arkansas and other states to wreck America's young interracial labor movement, growing up strong and straight like those young hickory trees in my back yard in Tennessee.

"The better" for the Ku Klux Klan to fire up crosses in Birmingham and to fire up Negro homes in Miami and Columbia. "The better" for stooges like P. L. Harden to collect over the burnt and hacked flesh of their brothers, their shiny, slimy 30 pieces of gold.

No Color Line

I just reckon you'll agree with me that P. L. Harden of Jackson, Tenn., belongs in the same cell and on the same rock-busting gang with Vance Muse of Houston, Texas. For no color line divides the champions of humanity and no color line divides the wreckers of humanity.

Now, the man I've picked out to keep them both company when they'll be mad and not speaking to each other from being shut up so long is a white man like Vance.

His name is Roy Castillow and the devil hatched him out on a hot rock in Greenville, Miss., where Bilbo keeps things hot. He's now superintendent of the Southern Cotton Oil Co., in Little Rock, Ark. That's the dummy set-up for the corporation which makes Wesson oil and Snowdrift shortening—two items which we're letting get sour on our grocery man's shelves until the company signs a union contract with its Negro workers who, at this writing, have been on strike since Dec. 17.

Castillow is a big fellow like Man Mountain Muse. He weighs a good 200 pounds and, with that heft, he ought to be able to turn a lot of big rocks into little ones. The only hitch is that he may get hanged or sent to the pen ahead of Vance and P. L. Harden. *Sat 5-11-46*

For members of Local 98 of the Food, Tobacco and Agricultural Workers, CIO, are demanding an investigation of the death of a Negro brother. Willie Lewis, whose dead body was found in the hull shed of the Southern Cotton Oil plant, last October, three days after an argument with Castillow over some unemployment compensation that was due the worker. Leo Butler and another man who found the body say that the floor of the hull shed was covered with blood.

Some time later, Walter Campbell, CIO Negro member on strike, was murdered by one of Castillow's stooges who was scabbing on the rest of the colored workers. Three other Negro CIO men, members of Local 98, have been framed up and convicted on charges of killing Campbell after being prosecuted under the Arkansas "anti-violence" law sponsored by Vance Muse and the Christian Americans. Two others, also Negroes, are due to be tried under the same law and on the same phoney charges. *Sat 5-11-46*

the week

Afro American
Baltimore, Md.

These Very Strange American Customs

By SAM LACY

So, I finally made this space.

The other day as I was returning from my Florida vacation (at your expense), I figured that it might be interesting to jot down some of the things I have run into during my jaunts over what folks have referred to as "the good ole" United States.

In Daytona Beach, Fla., I didn't have to sit in the rear of a bus behind the white passengers. The city provides two sets of buses. When one approached, I looked at the driver. Sat 4-6-46

If he was white, I stepped back and waited some more; if he was not, that was my bus. The other colored patrons and I boarded and sat where we wished.

In Chicago, ultra-exclusive Michigan Boulevard's Blackstone and Stevens hotels would rent me a room if I had their kind of money, but I couldn't buy a drink on slummy, tavern-lined Madison St.

GI Souvenirs of South

In New Orleans, I saw a letter from transit company officials complaining to Army authorities at nearby posts that they were losing hundreds of "For Colored" signs from street cars and buses.

Explanation was that GI's were taking them home as souvenirs.

In Detroit, I paid $4.50 a night to sleep on a lumpy living-room sofa in Baker St., only to learn sometime later I could have stayed at the Book-Cadillac Hotel for a dollar less.

Jim Crow Amid Poverty

In Naco, Mexico, where many of the natives live in hovels of mud, shaped by the hands and held together by grass, I was confronted with signs in front of several business places which read: "No Color!"

In Springfield, the capital of civil-rights-conscious Illinois, the Lincoln Hotel, named for the great emancipator, thought I wasn't sober if I expected to be able to buy a cup of coffee in its restaurant. Sat 4-6-46

In Omaha, Nebr., I got nothing but a cold stare at the Orpheum Theatre but two blocks away at Mother of Angels Church, the elder priest extended a hand.

Calling me out of an all-white line, he led me to one of his assistants with instructions to the latter to "be sure our visitor gets a strip" of the fast dwindling palm. It was Palm Sunday.

Too Smart for Dixie

In Camp Plauche, La., one-third of the number of GI's qualifying for overseas service as interpreters turned out to be non-white, almost shocking the Dixie-born occupational services captain to tears.

In New York, I saw a throng blocking traffic at 42nd St. and Broadway. I investigated.

In the center of the huge crowd was a bearded white veteran, a multi-paged petition hanging from his neck, demanding the impeachment of Sen. Theodore (The Man) Bilbo.

In San Francisco's famed Chinatown, I found two of approximately three stores waiting on me—with a scowl.

In Tuskegee, Ala., a former instructor in combat aeronautics argued, in my presence, that we should realize what a great future is in store for us in aviation.

"In years to come, we'll be able to obtain jobs as chauffeurs as we did during the automobile age."

In Leesburg, Fla., I found high school boys and girls traveling 40 miles over dark roads in a rickety bus to play a rival school in basketball.

The court was laid out in the school backyard, was illuminated by a string of lanterns.

It was a far cry from Morgan College and from Madison Square Garden, but a field goal counted two points and the winner was borne off on the shoulders of admirers.

1 Doctor for 7,000

In Sanford, Fla., one medic administers to a population of slightly less than 7,000. He's Dr. G. H. Starke and works office hours stretching from sun-up to near midnight.

In Washington, I rode with a cabbie who was anxious to learn whether transcriptions of the city's traffic court broadcast could be bought.

Reason: "I got locked up last night and want to know how I sounded." Sat 4-6-46

In the jim-crow coach of an El Paso-bound train, I heard a Mrs. Eleanor Something-or-Other explain that she hasn't been bothered by the nylon shortage because "My husband met me when I had no stockings on and wear ing open-toed shoes."

Liberal Learns Better

In New London, Conn., I had ravioli (and didn't like it) with an Italian friend and his family sisters and all. In Washington six weeks later, he had learned better.

In Philadelphia, I met a chief petty officer of the Navy who admitted, "It's a lotta bunk about the oldtimers being the military people.

"This last war was fought by young guys who'd never choose the Army or Navy for a career. The fight would still be going on if it wasn't for the impatience of those kids to get it over with."

In Tucson, Ariz., I found the roulette wheels (yes, chief, they have 'em there, too) were the only things that didn't care about my color.

In Lexington, Ky., I found out the same thing about the race horses. They draw no lines.

In New York's Madison Square Garden as Welterweight Billy Arnold was taking a terrific whipping at the hands of Italian Rocky Graziano, I heard a white wisecre pipe from his ringside pew "Somebody call the NAACP!"

In Denver, Colo., a white female soda-jerk served me the milk shake I requested. But when I had finished, she deliberately, and with unmistakable intent, smashed the glass from which I had drunk.

In Baltimore, after Judge E. Paul Mason had found a colored father and respected citizen guilty of assault on 1 of a gang of 10 white youths in an all-white community, the jurist went direct from the courtroom to a meeting of the Governor's Commission on Problems Affecting Colored People.

Race Bias Cuts Bureau Funds

P.M. New York
Thur. 2.28-46

Southerners Incensed Over Report on Prejudice

(Copyright, 1946, by The Chicago Sun and The Newspaper PM, Inc.)

WASHINGTON, Feb. 28.—The Bureau of Agricultural Economics, recognized as an outstanding Governmental statistical agency, felt the whiplash today of race and cotton prejudice of Southern Congressmen.

Incensed because the Bureau made a survey of racial conditions in Coahoma County, Miss., and also made studies suggesting elimination of cotton support prices, the House Appropriations Committee, dominated by its Southern members, recommended a drastic slash in the agency's 1947 appropriation.

The committee cut $485,543, nearly one-fourth, from the Budget Bureau's estimate of $2,480,150 for the agency. It also wrote into the appropriation bill for the Agriculture Dept. a strict ban against further "social studies" or cotton trend reports. Thur. 2.28-46

The committee's actions were disclosed as it recommended a $1,102,000,000 appropriation for the Agriculture Dept. for 1947.

H. R. Tolley, chief of the bureau, said that the committee cut, if not rejected by the House or Senate, "means that our forward-looking studies to keep the Government and Congress informed on basic agricultural trends will be very seriously curtailed."

Rep. J. L. Whitten (D., Miss.), took the lead in rebuking Tolley and the bureau, ably seconded by Rep. M. C. Tarver (D., Ga.), chairman of the subcommittee.

Whitten said he would not quote the report, which was entitled *Cultural Reconnaissance of Coahoma County, Miss.*, because of "its gross misrepresentations." Tarver, without such misgivings, quoted minor portions. One read:

"At present the militant Negro leadership in urban centers of the North is making its opinions felt on the rural Negroes of Coahoma County, for a number of them subscribe to Northern newspapers which do not hesitate to emphasize injustices done Negroes."

We Negroes have carried our share; here's what we expect—an ex-GI writes on the homecoming.

JAMES E. JACKSON, Jr.

The Worker
New York, N.Y.
3-16-46 ★ Sun

(Mr. Jackson was educational director of the Southern Negro Youth Congress before his induction into the Army. He served with the Army Air Corps in the China-India-Burma area of operations).

By JAMES E. JACKSON, JR.

The Worker

WITH good humor and ready hands, we have carried our share of the soldier's burdens in this war for the Four Freedoms and the liberation of oppressed peoples.

New York, N.Y.

In every theater we fought, we toiled, we died. One in every ten men who answered our country's call was one of us—a Negro American. We passed ammunition from sinking ships onto the beaches of North Africa, Italy and France to the cacophony of chattering machine guns from Stukas screaming low over our heads. We carved a slice of road out of the sheer sides of mountain peaks and through a steaming jungle fattened on monsoon rains. And when a covey of the winged sons of Nippon came nosing out of the clouds to lay eggs on our road, one of us leaned onto a bucking .50-mm. and shot one down. This was India, and Assam and Burma. We were the engineers, the truckers, the wire-stringers.

Sun 3-16-46

"Salaam" and "Ding-How"

In Europe they called it the Cannon Ball Express because nobody had taken so many trucks with so many loads so far, so fast, as we did, hauling the stuff to keep Patton's boys chasing the Nazis, who were high-tailing it across Europe. And they gave medals to Negro tankmen who rode the flanks with Patton's Blitz buggies.

And, across the other side of the world, it was "salaam!" and "ding-how!" Stilwell's Refuge Trail of '42 had become a conqueror's highway in '45, and we were there hauling the stuff, kicking mile-long convoys of "6-bys" around the hairpin turns of the Kachin and Shan Hills and on up into China's tumbled peaks where the Burma Road twists through mile-deep gorge on its way to Kunming.

We were the Quartermaster Joes. Ernie Pyle knew us well. We were the 92d Infantry Division in Italy. We died in the snowdrifts of icy mountain passes and on the green pastures beneath the olive trees in the Po Valley. A general named Lee asked for volunteers when Von Runstedt pressed Hodges' army hard, and we gave up SOS jobs and stripes for a combat infantryman's badge.

We were the 93d Division in the Solomons, and we were with the Pacific island-hoppers right up 'till the Rising Sun had set. Tito knew the insignia of the 99th Pursuit Squadron, and Russia's Gen. Malinovsky sent medals to what the newspapers called "the famed combat team of Negro fighter pilots." Together with the 332d Pursuit Squadron, we accounted for 180 Nazi planes. Sun.

And there were Dorie Miller and Charlie French. They got the Navy Cross. Artists painted their pictures and newsreels filmed the ceremonies. And Dorie went back to sea to die. And thousands of other Negroes in Navy blue have gone down to sea alongside their white comrades. 3-16-46

Yes, we were doctors, nurses, chaplains, and 5,000 of us were officers. We were combat Joes, but mostly we were the guys in the greasy fatigues with the sweat rolling off our brows and stinging our eyes. The Worker New York, N.Y.

We did our part. Now we are going home—that is, most of us. Some of us will be forever part of the soil of Asia, of Europe, of Africa, and all of the oceans of the earth. We're tired of the dirt and the dangers and the loneliness and the want. We've dreamed of the peace, the security and the warmth of friendly smiles, the "at home" feeling of belonging and being wanted.

We also are coming home with one or two things on our minds: We've been around the world serving in an army which has been fighting tyranny, fighting for freedom, for the dignity and rights of the little people, fighting the concepts of a "master race" with its self-appointed power to circumscribe the lives of and discriminate against other peoples. We like the banner of the Four Freedoms that we have carried to the liberated

peoples of the world—and we believe in it.

The Needs At Home

The Worker New York, N.Y. 3-16-46-Sun.

But we are not stupid. We never have forgotten the limitations imposed upon our people in our native land because of their color. We know the practice of racial discrimination in America does not square up with the ideals for which we have fought. So we want some changes made in America. Let the donors keep their medals, but let Congress not fail to make into a law of the land "the right of all men to work at jobs of their choice without discrimination because of race or religion."

We want all the amenities of our American democratic heritage open to us in our home towns down South, including the right to a higher education without having to leave our homes and journey North like so many exiles. We want to continue to enjoy the cultural exchange and comradeships we shared with our fellow white Americans during our Army life, free from the shackles of punitive Jimcrow and lynch law.

Coming home to America, we would have America accept us as Americans in the fullest meaning of this synonym of the democratic way of life.

Mr. Powell Objects

The Nation

Dear Sirs: I have before me a clipping of a book review by one E. Franklin Frazier on my recent publication "Marching Blacks."

I cannot in any way object to those critics who do not like the book, or me. That is the prerogative of a critic. I do, however, want to point out one thing in Mr. Frazier's review that is not in keeping with *The Nation's* policy. I quote, "In championing the cause of the black masses against the talented tenth of lighter complexion, the Reverend Mr. Powell indulges in much rabble-rousing, claiming that he is a descendant of the black field Negroes."

First, Mr. Frazier's untruthful assumption that the talented tenth were of lighter complexion is not only dangerous but proves the very point of the book. Second, saying that I indulge in much rabble-rousing is another untruth because all of the section dealing with light-versus-dark and house-versus-field Negroes comes almost word for word from Dr. Buell Gallagher's treatise on The American College on American Caste. Dr. Gallagher, as you know, is white and a former president of Talladega College in Alabama.

The third untruth is that I claim to be a descendant of black field Negroes. This I never stated. I am the son of a former share-cropper and the grandson of a branded slave. 3-16-46

In these three misstatements your reviewer proves the point that I was making: that too many Negroes of the reviewer's type—lighter-skinned, privileged, educated—use their supposed qualifications to divide and hold back the Negro man. Sat. N.Y. N.Y.

ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, JR.

Washington, D. C., February 23

Mr. Frazier's Rebuttal

Dear Sirs: In my brief review of Mr. Powell's "Marching Blacks," a book which contains many errors and unwarranted generalizations, I attempted to be generous. Since, however, the author charges me with untruthful statements, it will be necessary to document some of the defects of the book.

Despite much ambiguity in his statements, one point of his book is that Negroes were formerly divided on the basis of caste. The "upper caste included some one million free Negroes, slaves and mulattoes. The alliance of the light-skinned Negro with the house Negro was one of the most disastrous forces retarding the progress of the race" (p. 13). Mr. Powell also states, "My folks were field Negroes for countless generations. That's why I belong to the masses. I am proud to consider myself a new Negro—a marching black" (p. 15). In Chapter 5, The People's Man, he tells how Harlem Negroes were divided on the basis of color until he came along and united them. All this is reminiscent of Garvey, who tried to draw a line between the lighter and darker Negroes.

In my reference to the talented tenth I merely used Du Bois's term, and in describing them as of lighter complexion I was simply stating a well-known fact. Every study that has been made of the American Negro has revealed that the majority of professional men and intellectual leaders were of mixed blood. This is not due to any innate inferiority in blacks or to an "alliance" against the darker masses. It represents a social process which is observable in Brazil and other countries.

Mr. Powell fails to explain why he said (p. 39), "The leader of this group, Thomas Jesse Jones, was the first Negro to emerge in this century as an educated, subsidized Uncle Tom." Dr. Jones as everyone knows is a white man. This is typical of the errors upon which Mr. Powell bases his interpretative history of the rise of the black common man. Finally, he proves my charge of rabble-rousing when he, indistinguishable from white, points to me, a decided Negro type, as an example of the light-skinned Negroes who are dividing and holding back the Negro man.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

Washington, D. C., February 28

No Kiddin

The Worker New York

NO SOONER had the Ferguson brothers, Charles and Alfonzo, been done to death by a fascist cop in Freeport, L. I., than bestial Hitlerite mass crimes were committed in Columbia, Tenn., against the entire Negro population.

In New York state four brothers were lined up against the wall in Jimcrow Freeport, two of them deliberately killed and a third seriously wounded. The fourth protesting brother was dragged to jail and charged with disorderly conduct—and found guilty! And this, too, in the face of the fact that the U.S. Navy authorities cleared one of the navy-brothers of any culpable behavior whatever.

All of this happened not in Mississippi or Georgia. But 27 miles from New York, the most liberal city in the country.

Down in Columbia, Tenn., a polltax state, a Negro veteran, James Stephenson, sought to defend his mother from an assailant of the "superior white race." Result: a wave of terror breaks out against the whole Negro population. All Negroes' homes are searched. The polltax sheriff and officials join with the Ku Klux in intimidating the whole Negro community. Where the town officials did not join with the Ku Klux Klan, they became the Ku Klux Klan with badges on.

* * *

IT IS to the everlasting glory of the Negroes in Columbia that they exercised their constitutional rights by defending their homes arms in hands against the gangsters who would violate their sanctity. Their militancy changed the plans of the mobsters who intended to tour the Negro community on a lynch hunt for Stephenson and any Negro they could lay their hands on.

The cowardly lynch officials then went into the Negro community waving a white flag, assuring the people that "everything will be all right." The trick in that was to disarm the Negroes and then slaughter them while they were in a defenseless state. That's exactly what happened. For later, two of the 101 Negroes who were arrested were shot to death—lynched—in the jail by the "law-enforcement" officials "while trying to escape." This "excuse" was taken right out of the twisted Goebbels' mouth.

Sun 3-10-46

THE polltax-Ku Klux officials in the South feel that if a double Ferguson lynching can take place on New York City's doorstep, this is surely approval of their southern lynch law and they feel emboldened to go the limit. When our state should be setting an example in outlawing Jimcrow and anti-Semitism, it is the scene of one of the really hideous crimes of the postwar period—and the period has just begun.

Judging from what is happening to the Negro and other minority groups in New York City, the Negro people in the polltax South are going through unimaginable hell, with the pellagra-ridden poor whites not far ahead. Negro vets are the prime targets because they lead the fight for the democracy for which they suffered in Europe and the Pacific.

These crimes have a direct relation to the general chaos in the world and the country, the drive against the colonials, the unemployment, the indecent housing, the fulminations of Bilbo, Eastland and Rankin, the callous indifference toward our vets, Negro and white—all of which stem from the wave of reaction set in motion by the big monopolies and trusts against the trade unions and the living standards of the people. These conditions have their roots in capitalism which grows fat on suffering, strife, disunity and low wages, all of which evils become most acute during conditions of economic stress and crises. How our country needs socialism!

Remember Freeport and Columbia! We must invoke the crusading zeal of Scottsboro and burn these crimes into the conscience of America until justice is done—until such crimes cannot happen again. It can and will be done, and conditions are more favorable than 10 years ago. Have you written to Gov. Dewey in Albany demanding that he supersede that derelict whitewasher, District Attorney James Gehrig of Freeport? Have you sent a stinging protest to Gov. McCord at Nashville, Tenn., and to the second Missouri Compromise, Harry Truman in the White House?

The Negro in the United States

Courier Journal Louisville, Ky.

A very sincere and kindly letter in your column on "The Negro in the United States" left me strangely unimpressed. I had just driven through the Negro sections of Louisville and I did not see anything for which I felt called upon to apologize for to any Russian or any other nation. Fri 4-26-46

For instance, I did not see millions of Negroes being deliberately starved to enforce a governmental decree. That was what Russia did to her own farmers not so very many years ago. I did not see Negroes being led away to the concentration camps and the gas chambers. Weren't millions of Jews recently murdered in Europe? I did not see the awful hovels so many Hindus live in. I did not see Negroes picking over the garbage dumps, as Chinese and Koreans do. I did not see burnt and bombed houses. I did not see the dead, the tortured, and the millions upon millions ruined and broken and starved by the wars. I saw no indication of "prejudice" and "discrimination" that can hold a candle to the caste systems of India, or the brutal arrogance of so many other nations, not only to other races within their own borders, but to their political opponents of their own breed and blood. I saw no Negroes dead of cholera or starvation. Fri 4-26-46

I think the Negro question should for once be considered from the point of view of contrast, and not refer it to some sentimental and liberal concept of absolute justice and so-called equality. Certainly, if I could pick my lot I would rather be a Negro in Louisville than one of the millions upon millions of oppressed, starving and unhappy peoples in Asia and Europe. There is such a thing as knowing when you are well off.

JOSEPH E. NEWTON.

French Lick, Ind.

Purity Begins at Home

Richmond Times D.s.

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

In The Times-Dispatch of May 10 is a letter entitled "Against Mongrelization." That letter is a definite knock to the Negro race. All the Negro wants is an equal chance. When the war was on he went where duty called. He lived in foxholes, suffered and died just as the white man did. This is supposed to be a Christian nation, so why not practice what we preach and "do unto others as we would have them do unto us"? Times Dispatch

So far as keeping the two races separate to keep our children pure, it's a little late to think about that, because these two races started that in slavery. Why? Because the Negro was ignorant. Let him get an education and an equal chance and we all will have a better moral, physical, and social standard. 5-30-46 Mon

G. A. THOMPKINS,

Richmond. Va.

What Is Democracy?

Richmond Va.

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

Will The Times-Dispatch or one of its many readers kindly give me an accurate definition of democracy? My idea of democracy has always been the rule of the majority, but from the references to it in the press, this is by no means the case. For instance, our Federal government has been run by the labor unions for 10 years. They hold the balance of power in many States, but numerically are vastly in the minority. Their political influence and rapacity exceeds that held by the corporations 30 or 40 years ago. Fri 4-26-46

References in the press are constantly being made to our undemocratic treatment of the Negro. Do the Negroes in this country or the whites constitute a majority? If the whites, then who should control the government?

H. L. BAPTIST.

Hampton.

3 Months of American Democracy Too Much for British War Bride

ORANGE — The United States should substitute its Uncle Sam symbol for the English John Bull—but with emphasis on the "bull," is the way one war bride sums up her attitude of the dear ole U.S.A.

She is Mrs. Betty Wood, 25-year-old wife of James F. Wood of San Francisco, who arrived in this country three months ago with what she now calls a story-book idea of what America is like.

She met her husband, who once resided in New Brunswick, N.J., at a Red Cross club in London during 1943 where she was a Red Cross social worker.

Two years later when he returned from the Continent with five battle stars, they were married—Oct. 5, 1945.

Took All Germans Had

The young bride explains that during the war she took everything the Germans could toss at London

MRS. BETTY WOOD

—from Guering's dive bombers to Hitler's buzz-bombs. She was in more air raids than she can remember and narrowly escaped death more than once.

But, she says, here in this country that supposedly is democratic, there is an insidious intangible, strength-sapping something that gets one down.

"I would go back to England," she added desperately, "but I don't want to admit defeat."

Mrs. Wood then explained, a bit impatiently, that prior to coming to America she was never made to feel she was any other than just another human being.

She was born in England, (in Wimbledon, a London suburb), grew up in England and feels English. She is unable to understand why America cannot, or will not, treat her that way.

Much of Everything

Her first impression of this country, she says, was that there was so much of everything — clothes and food, and there was no bombed-out, fire-gutted buildings.

And there were nylons, too, even though women had to stand in line to get them!

But, today, she still is without a decent job. She has found herself, for the first time in her life, hemmed in by racial barriers.

She has found American women, for the most part, clannish and often stupid — the great majority showing no breeding at all.

As for American men, she declares them to be a pack of impatient wolves who seem to want a pound of flesh for every act of courtesy.

Amazed and shocked she is at the amount of hypocrisy she has fund here.

Before the war she was a Roman Catholic. Now she really is not sure what her faith is, or if it is anything.

Amazed at "Begging"

But she went to church recently and was unable to understand American clergymen "begging for money."

Nor does she know what her politics is; however, she voted for Atlee, both because she is pro-Labor and never particularly liked Churchill. The Labor Government is in Britain to stay, she believes.

During the interview, the young woman alternated in standing and sitting at a table, revealing a well-proportioned figure. She is 5 ft.-1 but appears taller in her high heels.

She wore her hair in a pompadour front with a feather curl effect at the back and sides. Her face, she says, is a combination of both her parents.'

Mother English and French

For instance, the mouth and chin, chiseled and sensitive, come from her mother, who is English and French. But the nose and eyes and forehead are derived from her father—James Ausley, World War I doughboy from Cuthbert, Ga., who cast his lot abroad after World War I.

Prior to leaving England she heard a radio speech by Bilbo, in which the Mississippi Senator said there were so many n---rs in Washington they formed a black cloud.

So she had an idea there were differences in America. But now she is learning how much.

'There's Something Rotten ..'

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

This is in regard to a letter, or rather to a lack of answers in your paper on June 2, regarding the appeal to the UNO, by the National Negro Congress for full and equal rights, under the Constitution. I am a white man. I cannot say the policies that my country pursues in regard to Negroes leave me with a pleasant sensation. The expression, "There's something rotten in Denmark," should be rephrased to read, "There's something rotten in the United States."

Are you so much afraid of the tradition of the deep South that you cannot apply the fundamental ideas of the Constitution, or the Declaration of the United States, to Negroes? Do you know that the result of discrimination against Negroes is really mass murder? That the average Negro lives to about the age of 49? That is about 10 years less than the white man can expect to live.

How can we be so wrought up about mistreatment of peoples of other nations when we mistreat our own minorities so.

I am a veteran of actual combat. I have seen Negroes die for this country—their country and mine. Indeed, sometimes I think this country is more theirs than mine. They have done so much more for so much less.

Perhaps you are wondering how I, a Southern white man, can write such a letter. My answer is, I have seen these men die for the same ideas I was risking my life for. I began to wonder why. I know now. They love my country, just as much as I. The least we can do is accord them the things they fought and died for.

HENRY TEELE WATKINS,
Richmond

Hits Barring Of Negro By Republic Of Panama

After reading about Panama's refusal to issue Mrs. Victor Charles papers to enter the country despite the fact that she's married to one of its brown-skin native sons and ironically enough, has a fairer skin than a number of "white" women (whatever that means) I've seen there's only one thing I can say and that is it has long been time for we members of the most discriminated minority group, the Negro, to think and act. But not with hot-headed public displays of unleashed individual tempers and violence we see and read about on street-cars and other places where emotionality overthrows all sense of reasoning. By "acting" I mean seeking ways and means of qualifying ourselves to demand the respect and consideration of the "white man" right here at home before we expect it abroad. The elimination of barriers is like Charity. It must begin at home then it can spread abroad.

Removing the source is always the most beneficial procedure in treating any malady. In this case we must strive to break down the democracy (spelled prejudice) under which we live here at home. To start elsewhere would be parallel to treating a skin and stomach disorder with cosmetics and soda bicarbonate when physical checkups have disclosed infected teeth or tonsils as the source of poisoning. The logical thing to do, of course: Remove the teeth or tonsils.

This particular incident concerning Mrs. Charles is no more ridiculous than so many others, such as our colored soldiers being insulted and discriminated against in various foreign countries where they were sent to defend democracy of which they themselves are deprived. And why did these nations go to such extremes to keep the Negro soldier "in his place?" Why? To keep the good will of the so-called "white" man. For you see, wherever the American white man sets foot he always carries his disease germs and a distorted picture of the Negro. Of course, like many other stricken misfortunates, he thinks he only has a "slight case of democracy." But we have long learned he is in the advanced stage of prejudice and brother, is it contagious!

Why should other nations bow so low to please him? That's easy. Just as a house guest sends a thank-you note to his hostess and extends an invitation to the host and hostess by way of reciprocity, he naturally doesn't include the servants of the household. Why should he? The household belongs to the host and the servants are dependents. So regardless of how deserving and likeable the servants are, their status excludes them. And the guest wouldn't dare risk the good will of his business partner, the host, by treating his servants in a better manner than he does himself.

So the sooner we change our status in this "land of inopportunity" the better for us. This can best be done by working with our militant organizations, the NAACP, the March On Washington Movement, the FEPC, Urban League and others, so that we might deal intelligently with a deplorably "unintelligent" situation.

As long as the white man places these unfair limitations on our earnings, housing, education and other advancements, thereby keeping us largely dependent upon him, there will always be doors shut in our faces, here and abroad.

We must grow more and more independent. We must have our own schools and enterprises, etc. And above all, we must have respect for ourselves in order to demand it from others.

Hannah Schusse, Chicago, Ill.

72 FILIPINO BRIDES ON WAY

War Wives Due to Reach U. S. July 1 to Join Husbands

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MANILA, June 12—Twelve Manila war brides, some carrying light-haired, blue eyed babies, sailed for San Francisco today via Shanghai to join their American husbands.

It was the first large group of wives to be sent at Government expense from the Philippines to America. Their ship, the Marine Jumper, is due in San Francisco about July 1.

For several weeks the wounded have been "briefed" on the conditions that they will encounter. The Philippine Red Cross organized a committee of prominent women that has been holding regular classes in Americanism. A few of the departing wives admitted they feared the racial discrimination talk that in past years has resulted in many Philippine wives breaking with their American husbands and returning here because of non-acceptance by their husbands' friends.

Most of those departing, however, were happily hopeful and determined "to make good somehow."

No KKK Probe, But House Votes Funds For Rankin

(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON—After its "white supremacy" clique had succeeded in debating into oblivion the question of investigating the revival of the Ku Klux Klan, the U. S. House of Representatives last week "patriotically" authorized an additional $75,000 for its committee on un-American activities by a top-heavy vote of 240 to 81.

Spearheading the lily-whites' efforts to keep the recent resurrection of the Klan on the committee's immune list was its vice chairman, Rep. John Rankin (D., Miss.). The Mississippian treated his constituents and the gallery to a brilliant imitation of a ham actor portraying amazement when Rep. Sadowski (D., Mich.) suggested doubling the appropriation so that a probe of the KKK might be placed on the committee's agenda. Said the white-haired minorities-baiter violently: "I've never heard such a nonsensical remark!"

When Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP, N.Y.) predicted the money would be used by the infamous committee "like a Republican campaign chest" to combat the Political Action Committee and the Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO), Rankin was joined by House Republicans in a burst of applause.

Two Members Oppose

Pleading for the appropriation, Rankin said it was time "to clean house and fumigate" the departments of government to get rid of Communists. Following his revelation that a "Communist group" in New York City was campaigning to defeat him, Marcantonio asked the Mississippi legislator: "Since when is an attempt to defeat the gentleman from Mississippi an attempt to overthrow the government?"

Members of the House Committee on Un-American Affairs who opposed the appropriation set forth in a motion by Rep. Boykin (D., Ala.), were Rep. Robinson (D., Utah) and Rep. Murdock (D., Ariz.).

At its convention in Atlantic City last week, the CIO United Steelworkers Union called for discontinuance of the committee and asked vigorous prosecution by the U. S. Department of Justice of those seeking "to deprive any group of their basic constitutional rights."

Sees the Nation Disgraced

The electorate of Mississippi by retaining in office a Bilbo; that of Georgia by returning a Talmadge; a brutal Georgia mob by shooting four Negroes, three of them entirely innocent of wrong doing, have disgraced our nation.

Apparently we erred by forcing their return to the Union in the 60's. I'm in favor of giving them back to the Indians—if they will have them.

Louisville. LOUIS A. BAHR.

Property Rights Save Human Rights

A number of Southern editors during the past week express surprise that the United States Supreme Court would predicate its decision, in the Irene Morgan case, on the doctrine of property rights, rather than support the principles and guarantees of the constitution, based upon human rights and equality.

Human rights are not worth very much down below the Mason and Dixon line. The existence of the Klan and other terroristic organizations down in Dixie attest to this fact, and we suspect the court would have had more difficulty outlawing the decision, based upon the protection of human rights, that it has, in bulwarking its position behind the protection of property. Whether we recognize it or not, the naked truth is that this government today, and always has, placed more guarantees behind property than it has behind liberty, emolument and privilege of the individual.

Take, for instance, the question of the mob. Thousands of white and black people have been lynched in America, with congress refusing to do anything about the gutting, burning and heinous murder of countless American citizens. Congress could not find constitutionality for such protection, but it should be recalled immediately following Warld War I, when a wave of kidnaping swept this nation, having in the background demand for huge ransom from rich people, in the form of money, congress immediately found constitutionality for the enactment of the Lindburgh kidnaping law. In this country we allow the lawless to take life, but not money.

Everyone who has read the debates in congress, when the 14th amendment was written knows the national legislators had in mind when they wrote the due process clause, the protection of "life, liberty and property" of the recent human chattels, but we thing so much of property rights in this country the Supreme Court has made the due process clause in the 14th amendment applicable to the protection of wealth. At this present moment vested interests in America today hide behind the 14th amendment, and the Supreme Court has interpreted the 14th amendment to means that corporations may acquire a specified annual return on capital investment. The courts hold that below this amount would mean confiscation, and since this opinion was rendered corporations have been busy dishonestly inflating their capital structure completely out of proportion to the original investment.

Across the past 160 years we have built up in this country a system of laws shielding property behind which any human being may hide with safety. "'Tis an ill wind that blows nobody good," and when the Supreme Court last week decided to outlaw jim crow in interstate travel, we are delighted to know that these eminent jurists decided to twist America's legal tail in the opposite direction. Property hitherto has been hiding behind human rights. Last week, human rights secured its first opportunity to shelter behind property rights.

It is laughable when we note the wail, "The bus companies were not asking for protection"; but whether this is wholly true or not is the $64 question. Most railway officials when approached on the question of inferior accommodations provided Negroes, openly state that it would be confiscatory to their investment if they were required to supply two equally designed facilities for white and black. In the Irene Morgan case the Supreme Court held requiring passengers to move from one seat to another, in interstate travel, would prove "an undue burden on interstate commerce.

Under the state rights interpretation of jim crow the burden would be upon carriers to determine "who is a Negro," as defined in the statutes of a given state, and this burden would be assessed in addition to the confusion that follows when passengers must be reseated at state lines, and the Supreme Court was most assuredly taking a belated stand for human rights when it said "such regulation hampers freedom of choice in selecting accommodations."

Results are what Negroes want in their struggle for human equality; and the Black Dispatch says "let the heathen rage," while discussing the background to this Supreme Court decision. Whether this breath of freedom came through the back or front door of the Supreme Court is of no concern; whether it stems from property rights or human rights is not the question. We feel like the old colored lady back in slavery who exclaimed in the wee hours of the morning when her faithful husband arrived with one of old master's shoats on his shoulder, "God sent it, if the devil brought it."

We think Black Dispatch readers would like to review the final summation of the court on this question. It follows:

"... no state law can reach beyond its own border, nor bar transportation of passengers across its boundaries, diverse seating requirements for the races in interstate journeys result. As there is no federal act dealing with the separation of races in interstate transportation, we must decide the validity of this Virginia statute on the challenge that it interferes with commerce, as a matter of balance between the exercise of the local police power and the need for national uniformity in the regulations for interstate travel. It seems clear to us that seating arrangements for the different races in interstate motor travel require a single, uniform rule to promote and protect national travel. Consequently, we hold the Virginia statute in controversy invalid."

OUR GUEST COLUMN

By Roger N. Baldwin Director
American Civil Liberties Union

The greatest racial discrimination in American law does not affect Negroes, as commonly supposed, but Orientals. The United States is the only major nation in the world which puts up a racial bar to citizenship. By the Oriental Exclusion Act of 1924, it excludes from citizenship and immigration all Orientals, except the Chinese, to whom special exemptions as allies was granted during the war. None of the oriental peoples except the Chinese, with a quota of 105 a year, may enter the United States as permanent residents. Those who are here either came in before 1924 or secured temporary permits.

This wholesale racial discrimination against Oriental peoples is an affront to almost half the population of the earth. Its origins go way back to the early days of slavery when in 1790 citizenship was confined to "free white persons". It took the Civil War to extend it to Negroes. It took World War I to extend it to American Indians. It took World War II to extend it to the Chinese.

There we have stopped. No resident Filipino whose compatriots fought with the American armies can become a United States citizen. After Philippine independence in July, we will graciously permit the immigration of 100 Filipinos a year.

But such retail measures are not enough. The gross injustice of this wholesale racial barrier can be corrected only by the total repeal of the Oriental Exclusion Act, putting all the Oriental nations on exactly the same quota basis of all other nations, and extending to their citizens precisely the same rights of United States citizenship.

The fear of organized labor that such action would result in a wholesale invasion of cheap labor is without foundation. On the basis of the 1890 census, on which all quotas are figured, only 650 could be admitted annually from Oriental countries. If it is objected that Japan as a recent enemy nation would be included by the repeal, it may be answered that Japan's quota for immigration would be less than 100, and that those now resident in the United States are as much entitled to citizenship as any other Orientals. The disloyal were interned during the war and later deported to Japan. Furthermore, the loyal were fathers and mothers and close relatives of 20,000 American boys of Japanese extraction who volunteered for military service and covered themselves with glory on the battlefronts of Europe.

We have a further moral responsibility to the Japanese in the United States. They were the victims of one of the worst racial tragedies ever suffered by a minority in American life. As a war measure of "security" the entire 115,000 people of Japanese blood on the Pacific Coast, two-thirds American born, were removed from their homes, schools, and jobs, and evacuated to concentration camps in the far West. There for two long years they were kept behind barbed wire, guarded by soldiers, living in barracks — solely on the ground of their racial origin. That the discrimination was wholly racial is proved by the fact that no other Axis nationals were removed from the Pacific Coast, nor indeed from the Atlantic Coast where the danger of attack, sabotage and espionage was even greater.

Racial discrimination against Japanese and other Orientals in our federal law has brought other disabilities. Western states hostile to them have adopted laws prohibiting land ownership or occupancy by persons "ineligible to citizenship", and denying them licenses for professions. Their attempts to put property in the names of their American-born children have been frustrated by court action. Their children are in many places segregated in public schools. Economic competitors in agriculture have resorted to vigilante action against Japanese Americans. The vast losses in property from the hasty evacuation will never be compensated, though their valid claims will be presented in the courts and Congress.

The Oriental population in the United States is a tiny fraction of the whole—less than 500,000 people, **WITH OVER HALF OF THESE IN HAWAII.** But over half of the people of the earth in the Oriental populations, against whom the discrimination is directed, are resentful of American prejudice embodied by law. They know that American law is based on white supremacy. Yet they see the United States champion world democracy and they read the pledges in the United Nations charter against racial discrimination. Our segregation laws at least put up a PRETENSE of equal but separate accommodations, denied by all facts; but our racial bars to immigration and citizenship make no pretense to equality. Only total repeal of the Oriental Exclusion Act will abolish the greatest single obstacle to realizing our moral claims to democratic leadership.

BETTER RACE RELATIONS

To the Editor of The News-Age-Herald:

I am writing this because you are anxious to know how different people feel about problems and such.

Instead of working together for the benefits of all mankind, each one is trying to pull a different way. There are so many things, so many problems that need solving and straightening out, until I don't see why so many people spend most of their time stirring up race hatred among peaceful people. We can never expect to be a leader of other nations unless we clean up at home first. That is the biggest problem. It shouldn't be a problem at all that this country is confronted with race hatred. And I don't see any particular reason either. The leaders of each should get together for an understanding which will prevent future trouble and misunderstanding. Some kind of formula should be worked out for better race relations.

JAMES W. HUDSON.
2217 North 18th Street.

Taking Democracy To the Woodshed

MR. TOM CLARK, attorney general of the United States, has had a rather busy week.

First, he kicked into the ashcan the advice of his own anti-trust division, and decided to let the U. S. Steel Corporation gouge the people of the United States by selling to it the Government's huge steel plant at Geneva, Utah, at ONE-FOURTH OF ITS VALUE.

Second, he did a neat service to the Ku Klux Klan and Negro-haters generally down in Tennessee by letting a federal grand jury down there whitewash the mobsters who shot up an entire Negro community.

Finally, as a grand finale, he practically called for mob violence against the American Communists, against trade unions, and against progressive-minded American lawyers who dare to defend labor against big employers.

In a Chicago speech, Mr. Clark, who is so good to the privileged and wealthy of this country, played the good old phonograph record about the "Communist plot to overthrow the Government."

He repeated, knowing in his heart the utter and absolute falsehood of it, the calumny that the Communists in recent strikes tried to "disrupt proceedings in the hope that Communists or Fascists, or both, might achieve final power."

This is the language of a high Government official who is good and sore that the American trade unions did not lie down meekly and accept the semi-starvation wages and sweatshop conditions which the trusts tried to slap down on them after the war ended. Mr. Clark is credited with being the inspiration and author of the union-wrecking bills with which President Truman aroused the indignation of the entire labor movement, from William Green and Philip Murray down to the local memberships.

He is credited with being the author of the bills which were branded in Congress as "fascist" in their direction.

Having failed, it seems, to manufacture sufficient hysteria against the trade unions during the recent strikes of American labor, Attorney General Clark is pulling out the classic alibi of every reactionary who sets out to stifle the democratic liberties of all Labor—"the Communists plot to overthrow the Government."

A Club Over Democracy

But Mr. Clark goes further in his warning that "there is nothing more devastating than the wrath of free men aroused," meaning, the "free men" who hate the working class and their organizations. He also warns that the middle classes, such as lawyers who defend unions or Communists, "should (be taken) to the legal woodshed for a definite admonition."

Mr. Clark's program for America is quite clear. He is taking democracy to the woodshed. Anyone who stands up either in the unions, or in sympathy with them, against any single economic or political policy decided on by Mr. Clark and his friends had better beware.

Accept whatever wages the trusts hand you. Let the atombomb militarists shove the United States down the path to war. Let the profiteers run the country to hell for the sake of robbing the nation. In all this, keep your mouth shut, or Mr. Clark's power will descend upon you.

Such is his idea of his duties as he turns American Government property over to Wall Street trusts, like U. S. Steel, for a song.

Mr. Clark's words—like all the warnings issued against Communists—are far from being aimed at the Communists alone. Their real target is the American democracy of which the Communists are a part. Their target is AFL and CIO labor movement, the consumer movements fighting for OPA, and the win-the-peace movements of Americans who oppose the line-up of the U.S. with British imperialism for a scheme of world-wide aggression.

One of Mr. Clark's predecessors, Attorney General Palmer, launched raids, arrests and his terrorism in the postwar years of the Wilson era. But that did not save the open-shop, prevent the 1929 crash nor the rise of the mighty CIO. It could not prevent the people's victories embodied in New Deal social reforms. Mr. Clark's plans in the same direction will have no more success.

Even the wild violence of Mr. Adolf Hitler's battle "against Communism," which tried to assassinate democracy throughout the world, failed.

But it behooves all of American democracy—the trade unions and the people's organizations—to take sharp note of how Mr. Clark intends to shackle them behind the "red bogey."

FEPC in Palestine, India?

In the campaigning of the Northern colored leaders and their Liberalite allies of the white race, in the South as well as the North, against what they call "Jim Crowism", their attempts to gain admission of negroes to hotels for white people, to sit next to white people in railroad cars and motorbuses, is a confession of inferiority. It is unjust to self-respecting and race-respecting negroes.

The News and Courier, mark, does not speak of "white supremacy." It demands separation of races in the United States and opposes whatsoever would move toward admixture or amalgamation of races. It has said that Abraham Lincoln, the "great emancipator", more than any other man who has lived in the United States checked, halted, tendency toward racial admixture. The association between negroes and white people, especially on the Southern plantations, was lessened immediately by the freeing of the negro slaves, and the separation has steadily widened since 1865.

Separation has nothing to do with "equality" and "supremacy." National groups live apart in the same lands though they have the same color of skin. No "Liberal" or Harlemite politician in New York would suggest that Great Britain should try to compel Arabs in Palestine to receive Jews into an Arabian inn or home, and Jewish people would resent compulsion that they mingle with the Arabs. So, the British people would look on a proposal that Moslems be denied right to live apart from other peoples in India as insane.

The right of colored people in the United States to exclude white people from their inns and homes is at least as sound and logical as the granted rights of the great majority of the people in India to "jim crow" Moslems and of Arabs and Jews in Jerusalem to "jim crow" one another. It is not a reflection on any race or any color, that it prefers to live apart from another.

Nevertheless, the effort in the United States is to break down, by force, separation of races, and the cause of it is the ambition of politicians in Great Cities to corral and control the negro voters where they are in sufficient numbers to be a deciding factor in a close election contest.

How would an FECP measure to compel Jews in Palestine to employ Arabs in a factory be received? What would Arabs do if they were commanded by foreigners, British or American, to hire Jewish labor?

Unless the interference of foreigners of New York, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Chicago, with race separation in the Southern states shall cease, the answer of the Southerners will be exactly what would be the answer of Arabs and Jews in Palestine to an FEPC.

It would be spoken in clearest voice by the workers in the Southern cotton mills.

Return to the Dark Ages?

Sirs:

It is strange how we of the occupation forces over here on the other side of the world sometimes find ourselves feeling as though we are now watching our country somewhat as we watched a football game or a school play back home—from a spectator's viewpoint. . .

I would like to try to present a brief picture of how it looks to an American on the other side. . . . It is disturbing to see examples of that same ideology against which the war was fought rearing their ugly heads again. Are we now to re-establish the class-consciousness which the war tempered so much—discrimination by color, nationality, religion, wealth, or even bars on the shoulders and stripes on the sleeve? Now that the fighting is over, is the Negro our inferior because his skin is dark, or is the Jew to be condemned for reasons unknown to me? . . . Can we pretend to have a "democracy," with organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan operating unrestricted? . . .

If this nation, with our allies, could thwart the greatest plot against world liberty and equality in history, why then can't we direct our unparalleled efforts for our cause to within our own borders, and purge the remaining domestic elements of dark-ages intolerance, ignorance, and disunity? . . .

ROBERT V. WILLIS

Korea

They're Like the Rest of Us.

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

Some years ago I was passing through your city to enter upon the work of rural supervision I met a school official much interested in the welfare of the colored people. He urged me to do what I could to help them in the section to which I was going. When I asked him for suggestions he replied, "Help others to realize that they are folks like the rest of us."

Postwar America is facing many baffling and perplexing problems. Among our problems is that of race relations; but this need not be perplexing or baffling if we will all remember that Negroes are "folks like the rest of us."

I have found this true during years of pleasant business relationship with those of both races. I am convinced that the white man possesses no virtue not shared by his darker brother. And the Negro is the victim of the same temptations and weaknesses.

What does the Negro want in postwar America? Not coddling or sympathy, not class legislation or special privilege. All he wants is the rights that are his as a citizen of a great country for which he has risked his life—rights which are vouchsafed to him by the great constitution of that great country. With this every fair-minded Negro will be satisfied; with less than this no self-respecting Negro will nor should be content.

GEO. A. JORDAN.

Hampton.

Kick Up Dust

Editor Constitution: I often find when decent treatment for the Negro is urged, a certain class of people hurry to raise the scarecrow of social mingling and intermarriage. These questions have nothing to do with the case. And most people who kick up this kind of dust know that it is simple dust to obscure the real question of rights and opportunities. It is fair to remember that almost the total of race mixture in America has come, not at Negro initiative, but by the acts of those very white men who talk loudest of race purity. We aren't eager to marry white girls, and we would like to have our own girls left alone by both white toughs and white aristocrats.

We want and are entitled to the basic rights and opportunities of American citizens: The right to earn a living at work for which we are fitted by training and ability; equal opportunities in education, health, recreation, and similar public services; the right to vote; equality before the law; some of the same courtesy and good manners that we ourselves bring to all human relations.

M. L. KING, JR.

Morehouse College.

Racial Segregation

History is replete with records of harmonious inter-racial activities between Southern whites and Negroes, but in the distant past so-called leaders of the dominant group subtly created strife by introducing the vicious custom of racial segregation and discrimination and propagandized the "little people" of the dominant group into accepting it by selling them the idea of white supremacy and superiority. The result: today too many millions of the South's "superior" people with the segregated people are stewing in the juice of their own ignorance, and poverty, prejudice and ill health are rampant.

A war to destroy racism, Fascism and Nazism has been won at awful cost—but peace is yet in the offing. There is indication that the "little people" intuitively move toward peace and could and would harmoniously engage in inter-racial activities, but for Bilboism—a new name for the old brand of destructive leadership. One wonders if anyone honestly believes that racial segregation and discrimination are consistent with democratic ideals and conducive to world peace.

It seems impossible that anywhere in democratic America today a ball game in a city park between white and Negro players, who are playing together because they want to, would be broken up by the police, called by the director of parks to "enforce the custom" of segregation. It happened in Louisville. How can wholesome inter-racial relations be fostered in this way? Who, obviously, is most desirous that racial segregation be maintained? Why?

Louisville. AMELIA B. RAY.

Soviet Chides Democracies on Jim Crow

NEW YORK — A bombshell was tossed into the meeting of the United Nations Economic and Social Council Friday when the Russian delegate insisted that the world-wide problem of racial discrimination should have top priority on the agenda.

The United States, backed by Great Britain, had argued that emphasis should be placed on the problem of freedom of information, a subject distasteful to the Soviet Union.

Taking the floor, Nikolai I. Feonov of the USSR, chided both America and Britain, declaring:

"It is well known to all that even in some of the highly developed countries, members of the United Nations, the questions of defense of the right of minorities and elimination of discrimination, especially on the basis of race and sex, represent some of the very important problems of the day.

"It is also known that with the end of the war, no change has taken place in that situation."

After reviewing the varying philosophies and practices of nations, Mr. Feonov, compared these to the situation in Russia, adding, "Racial discrimination is not only considered contrary to the friendship of people in the country, but it is punishable by law."

This Is LIFE

By LEONARD MASSENBURGE

"Goodbye, don't forget to write and I will pray each night for your return." Those words were spoken by a young white girl to her neighbor, a tan GI, who was going overseas.

Her three letters a week followed him across France into Germany and back again. She sent her photograph and told him that she longed for "that day." He was surprised and asked her what she meant, because love had not been mentioned in their letters.

Recently he arrived in America and she told him what she meant.

Marry Me Soon

"If you love me as much as I love you, you will marry me soon," she told him during the welcoming party.

"I will give you my answer tomorrow night," he replied.

Tomorrow night came. His answer was: "I cannot marry you."

"Why?" she asked.

"Because you are white!"

"I told you he didn't love you!" her mother said, and the two women wept. Meantime the GI walked slowly from the room.

KKK Perils U.S., Georgian Warns

NEW YORK—"There are groups active in the South now trying to arouse and divide the people by trading on their prejudices," declared Clark Foreman, president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, at the Cort Theatre Thursday.

Dr. Foreman, a Georgian, asserted that the Christian American Association in Texas and the Ku Klux Klan are a menace to the whole country and that if such movements are not checked they will undermine the whole basis of our democracy.

He said that southern people are banding together to fight all forums of discrimination and that the conference is mobilizing all progressive people regardless of race, creed, or color.

ROBERT QUILLEN

The Poison Of Prejudice

The good things in my life outweigh the bad, and much of the good is in the fact that so many little kids, inside and outside the family, call me Bobby. When kids give you a name like that, they approve of you.

The friendship of adults is a compliment; the friendship of children is flattery and a citation and a medal of honor.

Children judge you by standards that are natural, undefiled and eternal. They are not yet aware of wealth and its power, or conscious of race or caste, or afraid of public opinion and what the neighbors will say. They like a new acquaintance or they don't, according to his merit as an individual, and their judgment is without snobbery or prejudice.

"Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven."

But there comes a time in the child's life when its opinions are no longer instinctive or natural, but are warped by the example of influence of others.

A little girl has two favorite playmates in whom she sees no fault. But some afternoon she comes home wearing the expression of smug self-satisfaction characteristic of those who have found somebody to look down upon.

"I mustn't play with them any more," she announces. "They are old Jews."

Her horrified mother, determined to get rid of the poison quickly, begins to ask questions. Where did she get such an idea? Who told her such a dreadful thing?

An older playmate told her—a playmate whose mind is already warped and poisoned by an environment of prejudice and malice and snobbery.

"Suffer little children to come unto me, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven," said the Savior. The children to which He referred were not little Americans, but little Jews.

A little colored boy plays with white boys as one of them—aware of their difference, yet never fully conscious of it. He may be the favorite among them. Like them, he has no knowledge of prejudice.

But some day there is a quarrel and the little colored boy goes home c r y i n g, ashen-faced and broken-hearted.

His mother knows the explanation, for her questions are whispered: "What is it, child? What happened?"

He answers without lifting his head: "I'm a nigger." He may later have many white friends, but he will never again for a moment be unconscious of race.

Racial differences have been preserved for untold millenniums, and may last while the world stands, but decent people of all races may live together in mutual respect and tolerance.

So-called race prejudice is often no more than dislike of a worthless or hateful individual whose behavior would cause him to be disliked by decent people regardless of his race.

Nashville, Tenn., Banner

Mrs. Meyer Asks Better Deal for Veterans, Negroes

Washington, June 13—(AP)—Mrs. Eugene Meyer, wife of the publisher of the Washington Post, said yesterday that unless the Negro is given "more social and economic justice" and the veteran a "more practical answer" to his problems the nation faces the danger of a demagogue-led revolt.

Mrs. Meyer, a student of war and postwar social conditions in the country, told the House expenditures committee:

"The fact that many Negroes are migrating to the slums of our Northern and Western cities will increase the economic rivalry there without decreasing it sufficiently in the South. . .

"I appeal to you to believe me when I say that more social and economic justice to the Negro and more practical answers to the needs of veterans are two of our gravest national problems.

"At present the jobless veterans with no educational possibilities, none of the health provisions to which military service has accustomed them, no jobs, no sanitary homes, are marking time on their $20 a week unemployment allowance. That is keeping them more or less quiet for the moment. Yet the situation is so tense that any skilled demagogue could set a revolt in motion."

Justice

An Editorial

Laughter must have swept the Collins, Miss., courtroom where three hooligans were fined $10 yesterday for attempting to rape three Negro girls at the point of guns.

Had the youths been Negroes, and had someone—anyone—started the lie rumor, "rape," they would have been murdered, to the applause of the KKK press.

From the shooting of Macie Snipes, the GI who dared to vote, to the Georgia massacre of two women and their ex-GI husbands, the story of stormtrooper violence against the Negro people proceeds now to the violation of their women.

The shame of America is that the sponsors of such crimes sit in the U. S. Senate—like Bilbo. They represent the United States at the Paris peace parley—like the "white supreamcy" upholder Secretary Byrnes.

President Truman keeps his silence on these outrages. His administration is too busy demanding democracy in other countries.

The terrorism which is engulfing the Negro people menaces all America. We shall not stop fighting it until it is destroyed root and branch.

Figures Show That Racial Hierarchy Doesn't Exist

"America, which never knew feudalism," wrote a reporter in Russia's Izvestia, "has established another hierarchy—a racial one."

"The English, Scotch, and Irish are the aristocracy," the article added. "After them come the Scandinavians and Germans, and then the French and Slavs. The Italians are many times lower. The Jews are even lower. Puerto Ricans are below them and the last at the bottom of the ladder are the negroes."

Interesting figures which refute these assertions come out of New York City, where visitors are told that five-sevenths of that city's population are immigrants or first-generation Americans, who speak a total of 83 languages.

There is little in those statistics that would indicate a racial hierarchy such as described by the reporter writing in the Russian publication.

Religious and Racial Discrimination

Constitution

We see that the Governor of Mississippi, which at last accounts was a Southern State, has joined other Governors, among them Georgia's, in asking the President of the United States to make public any and all information the Justice Department and FBI may have on organizations in the United States which devote themselves to religious and racial prejudice.

We hope the President will do so.

Organizations such as Gerald Smith's crowd, the Protestant Veterans' Organization, the KKK, and other lesser booby traps to extort money from suckers who think they have to have a little card and a "secret" for their protection, are dangerous to Americanism. 9-3-46

They are, including the KKK, much like the Communist party. They use Communist tactics of boring from within. Like the Communists, they can fit their "line" to any pattern. In one place they are defenders of white supremacy. In another they are anti-Jewish. In yet another they are anti-Catholic. In still another they may be simply anti-foreign.

Catholics, Jews, Christians and all thinking Americans will be wise to keep in mind that the KKK was seeking to merge with the German Bund a few months before we went to war against Hitlerism. All will do well to keep in mind that these organizations are, for all their loud shouting, anti-American; that they attract, with but few exceptions, a low-grade membership; that most of their members are eccentrics and crackpots suffering from all sorts of illusions of persecution and hate. Atlanta, Ga.

All are dangerous to America. Whatever their pretended "line", they are against the fundamental idea of this country, to which came people of all countries seeking personal freedom. Let us not appease or tolerate them. Let us know the facts about their connections. 9-3-46

We are happy to see all Southern Governors joining in asking a Southern President and a Southern U. S. Attorney General to reveal the evil machinations and connections of all these hate organizations that make their promoters rich inciting hate in America. Tuesday

They Still Don't Know

Daily World Atlanta, Ga. Wed 8-7-46

The American white people still lack a proper evaluation and appreciation of the vexatious problems from which the Negro people suffer. We do not think that this is due to any callous indifference. To the contrary, it is the result of deep pre-occupation with their own problems of earning a living; making a go out of their particular business, politics and other pursuits to which they devote their time and energies. Thus, they experience and have contact with the Negro people and their problems only as an occasional thing, either through a friend; some Negro leader or by an outburst of violence as a riot, lynching or the like.

Here for example, as late as 1946, we have sixty-six per-cent of white Americans replying to a National Poll believing that the Negro is being treated fairly. Sixty-two per-cent of of Northern whites answer the question in the affirmative, and 76 per-cent of Southern whites. It is also surprising to find that 43 per-cent of whites answering that Negroes are treated fairly are found among those who attended college.

But if the percentages are interesting, the answers are more interesting. Here is a white Bunker Hill, Indiana farmer who says: "As far as I know, they are treated fairly." A Chicago draftsman says: "As fairly as they deserve." A railroad worker states: "We've gotta remember that a lot of white people aren't treated just all o.k. either."

Assimilation: At Home and Abroad

The Courier Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 9-14-46

At the Peace Conference in Paris last week British and American delegates in considering Balkan problems went on record as desiring assimilation rather than perpetuation of minorities in those regions.

Said Lieut. Gen. W. Bedell Smith of the United States, "It is difficult for a citizen of the United States to understand the desire to perpetuate racial minorities rather than absorb them."

Why it should be difficult for General Smith, or any other American citizen, to understand the desire to perpetuate rather than assimilate racial minorities when we have had more practice in this than almost any other modern country, is a mystery.

Laws to serve that purpose have long been on the statutes of a large number of our States and are more rigidly enforced than any other laws.

There is no record of General Smith, or any other American military or naval commander, having done anything to assimilate the Negro minority in the armed forces of this country, and it would be difficult to find a single statement of any responsible official of this country favoring assimilation of the colored people here in the social and economic structure of this country.

Our laws calculated to prevent assimilation of the Negro minority have been so effective that they became a model for the Nazi's Nuernberg laws against the Jews and other proscribed peoples.

The most absurd provisions have been made in our statutes to determine what is a Negro, penalizing millions on the basis of color and ancestry, preventing them from being integrated into the political, economic, social and cultural life of the land, and branding them as inferiors whom custom decrees must be shunned.

Incomprehensible, then, is the statement of the American delegate who is opposed to perpetuation of minorities in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania and Czechoslovakia, while insisting upon it in his own country, or at least saying nothing against it, of which we have any record.

Most Americans from President Truman down would doubtless agree with Admiral Sreko Manola of Yugoslavia, who told the delegates, "Absorption of racial minorities would be a grave error."

All of which throws considerable light on the fervent orations of Secretary Byrnes and Foreign Minister Bevin on the urgent need for democracy—in Europe.

A Lyncher Abroad

The Worker, New York, N.Y.

EVENTS seemingly unrelated are often closely linked.

The war the lynchers have declared against the Negro people is connected with what is happening in far-off Paris and in Yugoslavia.

For one thing, the man who has pressed the button which has set off the Yugoslavia "crisis" is the same James Byrnes from South Carolina who defended lynchers and "white supremacy" on the floors of Congress.

Byrnes in Paris is in sympathy with the anti-democratic philosophy which the new democracies in Europe fought against. He has admitted it publicly in the speeches which we print elsewhere in this issue. No wonder, then, that Byrnes is taking orders from the Vandenberg-Hoover-Hearst crowd and is cracking down on democracy in Europe. 8-25-46

If Byrnes approves the terrorism against the Negro people's striving for democracy in the U.S.A., is it any wonder that he also hates the small nations' democracy as in Yugoslavia and Poland? Sunday

If a Senate can tolerate the presence of a Ku Kluxer like Bilbo, admittedly flouting the Constitution by force and violence, does this not explain why that same Senate is now heading the country for atomic warfare against the rest of the world? Contempt for democracy at home spells contempt for it abroad. New York, N.Y.

The alibis our envoys in Paris and our State Department in Washington are handing out to explain their threats against Yugoslavia are of the same water as the alibis of the Negro haters here at home.

When a lynch mob cries "rape" or "attempted assault" to justify their gruesome murders, any decent American knows they are lying in their throats. Let us remember that the same reactionaries who condone "white supremacy" in America are today running our foreign policy.

The terrorism against the Negro people is part and parcel of the plans to make America ready for fascist-like reaction and war. Our series on Secretary Byrnes' views shows that tie-up only too clearly.

Racial and Religious Hatred

Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.

It is surprising to read that some Kentuckians have protested Attorney General Dummit's action regarding the Klan. What does it take to make us aware of the twin follies of fascism and racial hatred? Have we already forgotten the bitter lesson of Nazi Germany?

White people should recognize that the problem of the Negro rests solely in their minds. It is the way that the white man feels about the Negro that is the problem. His refusal to face the real issues of Jim Crowism makes it impossible to work out an intelligent solution.

Similarly anti-Semitism is the Gentile's problem. Hatred and repression practiced for centuries have not solved the problem. Is it coincidence that the peoples and countries which indulged in anti-Semitism are usually the most backward, the most ignorant and the most biased? One can almost say that the

civilization of a country can be judged by its treatment of the Jews. News 8-18-46

The persecution of Catholics stems from the same bigotry, fear and misunderstanding that cause Jim Crowism and anti-Semitism. Catholics, too, make good Americans and help to make our country strong. Who gains in attacks against them?

Every history book is a lesson in the futility of racial and religious hatred. Civilization was pushed back by the intolerance of the Inquisition, the religious wars and the pogroms. Our country is great because all people contribute to make it so and work together to keep it that way. A suppressed group becomes a deficit, a dead weight upon the progress of a nation. DOBSON.

Louisville.

PROGRESS DEMANDS SACRIFICE

To the Editor of The News: The News

We found it quite easy to see the harm in racial discrimination when it seemed that the Germans and the Japanese might dominate the world, and that they would be the master races, and that we might be thought inferior peoples. But there are many instances in which we act as though we were a master race and treat other races with contempt or deprive them of their just rights. There is no master race in this great country of ours—and the only race which can claim true American heritage is the Indian, who is a stranger in his own land. Birmingham, Ala.

Social equality in the South always brings on the same old heated discussion of intermarriage. Some urge that we approach the subject with a Christian attitude. If the attitude is Christian, then the approach must be positive. The positive approach brings a positive response—but most people do not and will not concentrate on the deep meaning of the positive approach. News 10-8-46

The positive approach to social equality is recognizing a person's ability to rise to his highest level. What, then, is a Negro's highest level? Certainly not inter-marriage. Nor does the average Negro seek inter-marriage. Did George Washington Carver attain his highest level by inter-marriage? He did not. He attained it by seeking the will of God, which led to serving mankind. By serving I do not mean in the sense that most people place the Negro. I mean contribution to the progress of civilization.

Recently a group of boys were discussing a ball game their school had lost—and, of course, they were blaming it all on the overgrown "Wops." Recalling that one of my dearest friends and a true Christian was born of this so-called race, I called my boy into the house and told him that I'd like to take him back about 22 years ago to a high school history class which on a certain day was studying the Hun invasion. In that classroom was a girl whose parents were German. A boy across the aisle looked at her and very sarcastically smiled and said, "Hello, Hun." I asked my boy if he could possibly describe the feeling the girl must have had. He replied, "She must have felt kinda sick inside."

Yes, I was sick inside, so now you know I was born of German parents. I could recall many bitter experiences of my childhood. Had it not been for the love of an understanding, Christian mother, I shudder to think of what I might have done to escape the persecutions poured upon us.

I had a longing to please God, yet there was a resentment towards Him that He had let me be born of German heritage. Oh, why couldn't I have been born of some other race, so that I would not have been hated and excluded from all social activities that are so cherished by growing boys and girls? But now that I see God's purpose in many things I could not see as a child, I thank God that I was born of German parents, for out of those persecutions I received as a child has evolved a burning desire to help all races.

I cannot remember one time that my father ever turned a stranger away from his door. I know now why father helped the unfortunate.

During the war the Chamber of Commerce asked the people of Birmingham to open their homes to service men. Not having anyone in the service, I certainly wanted to do something for the ones who were, so I offered to rent a room. They sent out a young sergeant. He seemed pleased with the room. We made the necessary agreement; not once did I think of asking his nationality. He was a neat, clean-cut young man with good habits. He said his wife would not be in Birmingham until the following afternoon. Well, the minute she walked in the door I knew she was Jewish. To say that I had no reaction would be telling a lie. It was a test of my Christian faith and I knew it. They stayed with me until he was transferred. I ask you, "Where else but in this great country could a Jew and a German live in the same house?"

Progress demands sacrifice. It has since the beginning of time; but that sacrifice must come from all. Some have sacrificed more than should be asked of them. Some have sacrificed nothing. Classify yourself and ask, "Am I an American? Am I a Christian? Am I pleasing to the sight of God?"

MRS. K. S. STROUP.

5252 Sixth Avenue, South.

Rome, Ga., News-Tribune
July 14, 1946

Good Analysis of Race Situation

In a conversation in Rome the other day a colored girl went to the heart of the racial issue when she said:

"If there is a dance attended by forty white persons and forty colored persons, nobody has a good time. If there are two dances, one attended by forty white persons and the other attended by forty colored persons, all hands have a good time. We colored people in the South don't want social equality, and it would be good if Northern persons found this out and let us alone. When we are let alone we have no trouble with our white friends."

That makes sense—and is true. Left alone, the colored people of the South, and the white people of the South, get along splendidly most of the time and this condition should not be disturbed.

The Negro, North And South

WE QUOTE, with full approval, from an editorial in the Florida Sentinel, a Negro paper published in Tampa, written by its editor, C. Blythe Andrews:

Since the orgy of lynchings in Georgia, Louisiana, and Mississippi, there have been some to urge Negroes to flee North.

Those who have been North don't find a bed of roses. Things are just as bad up there as down here, and perhaps worse for the men and women who have no trade or profession.

The jobs may pay more money up there but living conditions are bad and crowded and costs are so much higher.

The Negro gets along pretty well in the South if he wants to work and tends to his business. Many of us don't want to work, and the few days we do, we throw away our earnings in foolish things.

There is no social equality up North and down South, neither among black folks nor white folks. There is no such animal on earth. The politicians talk about it when they run out of issues, but there never did exist any such thing as social equality.

The Negro need not run North seeking greater opportunities. All we need to do is drop our buckets where we are. If we work hard, use common sense and save our money, we can get along better in the South than anywhere else.

The forces of liberalism are growing in the South, and the Negro is getting a better deal. Our schools are better, our teachers better paid, and here and there we are getting better living conditions and parks and playgrounds.

The police courts are showing definite improvement. They used to railroad us through these courts in most southern cities for revenue only. Whenever the fine and forfeiture fund showed a slump, the Negro section was raided and droves of our people were passed before a heartless judge who filched our little earnings or sent us to the stockade to do free labor.

Those days are passing fast in most southern cities. Men selected for city judges and police chiefs are of higher type and usually are first-class men who try to run their departments with a sense of fairness. Tampa is especially blessed in this respect because Judge Potter and Chief Eddings are two men of the highest type.

Here in Florida, I was born and reared and here in Florida I plan to die. If there be any who don't like my presence or my looks, they'd do well to move. I ain't going nowhere!

That ought to be the gospel of every hustling Negro, no matter where he was born or how much education he may possess. We ought to plan to stay here and improve our lot in the South and enjoy life here and get along with everybody here.

When we rush North we make things bad for those who are already there. We crowd into apartments and force rents up. Our conduct, which is sometimes bad, is just the same up there, and as a result all Negroes are judged by the sorry way we act.

Let's stop all this silly rot about going North just because something happened in Georgia, or somewhere else in the South. That's likely to happen in Detroit, where there was a riot, or any other northern city.

Tampa, Fla. ... Sept. ...

That sane and sound comment and advice should be read and heeded by Negroes, North and South. It gives the answer to the charge, frequently heard of late, that the Negro is abused, penalized and persecuted in the South. It is a rebuke to Paul Robeson, who used insulting and threatening language on a recent visit to the White House. It deprecates the flashy groups which are calling for drastic action against the South because of recent lynchings and racial clashes, ignoring the fact that such outbreaks occur in other sections.

We congratulate Editor Andrews on having the courage and fairness to write the truth about the situation. He is a living demonstration of the fact that a Negro can be a good citizen and a wise counselor.

Fight Bilbo by Silence?

Daily Worker, New York, N.Y.

THE AMSTERDAM NEWS attacked the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People because it broke a long tradition and at its recent convention voted to engage in political action. "Let the NAACP stick to their knitting. Fri. 7-26-46

Doesn't that sound just like the white supremacists who warn the Negro people to "stay in their place"? It went on "**Politics has an important place in beating back Bilboism in the nation. Political bodies we must have if the nation is to prosper. But the Negro has a special problem all his own.**" So the Negro people have no business in politics, even though this is a way to "beat back Bilboism."

Does this paper consider its own readers children, or is it doing a well paid job now that the elections are comnig?"

★

THE AFRO-AMERICAN said **"Westbrook Pegler shed a few crocodile tears the other day about Willie Francis, 17-year-old Louisiana youth, awaiting the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court as to whether he must again sit in the electric chair which failed to kill him on May 3. But don't let Pegler fool you by his apparent concern. Like many Southern slaveholders, he has great sympathy for an individual colored person but nothing whatever for the group to do."**

★

THE PEOPLE'S VOICE commented **"a little over two years ago Rep. Andrew J. May of Kentucky raised all manner of hell because the War Department was about to distribute the Public Affairs Committee's pamphlet, 'The Races of Mankind' to the Army."** The editorial further pointed out that May is now being charged with flagrant graft involving millions of dollars in war contracts.

It would be a good idea to probe all the Bilboes, Rankins, Eastlands, and other white supremacists in Congress. Thievery, graft, and all other forms of corruption would be uncovered. Race hate and dishonesty run hand in hand.

★

THE PHILADELPHIA TRIBUNE asks **"Did your blood chill in your veins when you read the headline last week 'Cop Gouges Out Eyes of Negro War Hero'? For sheer bestial brutality and downright viciousness there is nothing to be compared with this side of Himmler's concentration camps during the reign of the Nazis in Germany."** Right. Fascists are the same everywhere. Himmler, who was a great dossier compiler probably had extensive files on the methods of our southern fascists.

'Youth for Christ' Movement Called A Front for Fascism and Anti-Negro

The Call, Kansas City, Mo. 1-11-46

By FRANK MARSHALL DAVIS

CHICAGO.—(ANP.)—Is the new Youth for Christ movement an earnest religious effort? Or is it a smoothly directed fascist front organization, backed under cover by some of the nation's leading race and religious baiters?

According to Bishop G. Ashton Oldham, noted liberal prelate of the Albany, N. Y., Episcopal diocese, Youth for Christ is actually "fascist in character, anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic and anti-Negro."

And the Rev. Claude Williams, director of the Peoples Institute of Applied Religion with headquarters in Detroit, and for many years one of the nation's most fearless foes of injustice, says Youth for Christ has the backing and support of such reactionaries and native fascists as millionaire R. G. LeTourneau of Vicksburg, Miss., and the notorious Gerald L. K. Smith who has reputedly boasted that Youth for Christ and his own group, American Youth for Christ, have interlocking leaders.

Contributes To Committee

In view of the effort to obtain Negro membership—on a jim crow basis—and the way in which many Negro religious leaders have been induced to back this drive, the real truth about Youth for Christ needs to be read and digested.

Here are important facts worth considering:

Local branches of Youth for Christ are often sponsored throughout the nation by local Christian Business Men's committees. LeTourneau supports the Christian Business Men's committee and it is said that he contributes heavily to this and similar committees. The Mississippian, according to Rev. Williams, is notoriously anti-labor, anti-Negro and promotes a Pauline theology which is anti-Semitic.

One of the major backers of Youth for Christ is William Randolph Hearts whose newspapers have strong anti-labor and anti-progressive policies and are often viciously anti-Negro and anti-Semitic.

The Chicago Action council has called attention to the fascist nature of Youth for Christ. Its November bulletin stated:

"Gerald L. K. Smith and Joe McWilliams are a few of the discredited people who have spoken at their meetings. Evidence is accumulating that indicates considerable financial support is coming from sources which formerly supported the pre-Pearl Harbor America First committee. Their sudden switch to religion is not for godly reasons."

1-11-46

Facing Unemployment

As for LeTourneau, he is the millionaire owner of several industrial plants in Georgia and Mississippi who calls himself "partner of God." In October, 1944, he dedicated a $100,000 office building at Vicksburg, Miss., to which many officials were invited. Describing the festivities in the News Digest, New Orleans, under date of Oct. 6, 1944, Harry Koger wrote:

"I learned from a worker sitting near me that he and several others who had led in organizing a union in the plant had been given a week's notice, and consequently were facing unemployment after today. Perhaps that accounted for some of the sullen, gloomy countenances.

Condemn Organizations

"After the benediction by an official of the Georgia LeTourneau plant, the chairman told us how to get out through the front door to the barbecue tables. Special instructions were also given to the Negro section on how to get through the back door to their barbecue.

"When I asked one of the workers if he was going to line up and eat some barbecue, he said:

"'Hell, no, I've got my lunch right here in my pocket.'"

In Chicago not long ago 13 of the city's leading pastors, white and colored, issued a statement condemning Youth for Christ for its attempt to organize jim crow groups. The Hearst daily newspaper, the Chicago Herald American, this week carried a picture of the newly formed Youth for Christ band. There are no dark faces in it.

In Detroit last summer, Gerald L. K. Smith openly asserted there was "an overlapping of leadership" between his own Young Americans for Christ and Youth for Christ, after leaders of the latter group found it necessary to deny there was any resemblance between the two.

1-11-46

War Against Discrimination

The Rev. Claude Williams has publicly charged on more than one occasion that Youth for Christ is "another Hitler youth movement." He has been under attack constantly by Smith and Youth for Christ leaders. Youth for Christ also indulges in Red-baiting, is opposed to collaboration with the Soviet Union, and snipes repeatedly at American Youth for Democracy, the interracial youth which in the two years of its existence has been waging unceasing war against discrimination and jim crow.

Rev. Williams, president of Commonwealth college, Mena, Ark., 1937-39, was one of the south's foremost fighters for equality. He helped organize the Southern Tenant Farmers union of both white and Negro, and in 1937 was kidnaped and beaten for his union activities in defiance of the rich landlords in Arkansas.

Whites just can't know what it is to be a Negro

Los Angeles Tribune, Los Angeles, Calif.

CHICAGO—"There is a peculiar and deep presumption in any white person saying what he would do if he were a Negro," declares Henrietta Buckmaster, author of "Deep River" and "Let My People Go," writing on "If I Were a Negro" in the February Negro Digest. Sat 2-16-46

Attacking those who have gone before her in the magazine's "If I Were a Negro" series, Miss Buckmaster writes, "No average American white person can ever know what they would do if they were a Negro. . . . He does not know what he would do any more than he knows what he would do if he fell under a train and lost his leg, or drifted for 40 days in an open boat. He might plan; he might be quite loquacious on the subject, but he would not know.

"No average American white person has been prepared to face the heavy, closed door of segregation. And segregation is, to my way of thinking, the one word that sums up the entire sociological, economic, and psychic problem of the Negro."

Must Promise No Bias For Mexican Labor

Journal & Guide, Norfolk, Va. Sat 2-23-46

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA)—The Government of Mexico has informed the United States that unless it can guarantee that its citizens will not be discriminated against in this country it will not furnish the additional 20,000 needed farm workers which this country has requested to aid farmers.

Refusal of Mexico to supply the additional workers needed will seriously affect sugar beet production, according to Secretary of Agriculture Clinton P. Anderson.

DISCRIMINATION CHARGED

Charging that Mexican nationals were discriminated against in Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Montana, Minnesota and Wyoming, the Mexican government informed Secretary of Agriculture Anderson that it would not permit its citizens to work in these states. Mexicans have refused to work in Texas since the first agreement was made between the two governments in 1943.

At present there are over 20,000 Mexican farm workers in the United States distributed as follows: Nebraska, 225; Oregon, 194; Washington, 173; Arizona, 1,709, and California, 17,536.

The United States had sought to extend the contracts of the 20,000 workers already here and to add an additional 20,000.

ROBERT QUILLEN

Atlanta Constitution, Atlanta, Ga.

Interests And Ideals

When the word "race" is used in anything written for the general public, it is not used in the scientific sense, but as it is understood by the ordinary reader.

For example, we speak of the "English race," yet Englishmen are a mixture of Angles, Saxons, Danes, Celts, Norsemen and Romans. When we speak of the "German race," we mean only the people who now live in Germany.

At the time of our Revolution, there were people from many lands in America. Paul Revere's people, for example, were French. But the great majority of our three million — perhaps 95 per cent — were English.

These people called themselves Englishmen. And it was this stock that gave us statesmen, as wise as any in the world's history. They wrote the constitution, and laid the foundation that made us a great free nation.

After the Revolution, people soon learned to think of themselves as Americans and nothing else. When they cursed the "English breed," they forgot their own origin. Mon 2-25-46

When immigration was at flood tide, it brought us millions who were excellent material for the building of a nation. They settled the West. They were glad to get away from Europe. They built a new life and made the new land their land. They intermarried with the original stock and adopted the American language and American ways. In short, they were Americans and nothing else. And they, as much as anybody, provided the industry and brains and skill that made America great.

But before immigration was checked, we admitted various "racial groups" that are now causing us trouble and will cause trouble for untold years to come. Most of them were brought in, or encouraged to come, by greedy and shortsighted men who cared nothing for their country but thought only of the profits to be got from cheap labor.

These trouble-making groups are of two kinds: Those who will always be a foreign body because they cannot be absorbed into our American "race," and those who do not try to become Americans, but cling to their foreign customs and even their foreign language, and in spite remain loyal to the land of their origin.

(It is this alien group, with no interest in America's welfare, that provides most of New York's racketeers—who now operate all over the nation.)

In the troubled times that lie ahead of us, we shall invite ever-increasing danger by tolerating people who give first allegiance to some foreign power, or will not forget the "old country" and make themselves true and loyal Americans.

We are a mixed race, but we must be Americans and nothing but Americans, and we must unite against all who will not join us.

America

Washington Post, D.C.

Those of us who were fortunate enough to return to our beloved America are already wondering if results attained were enough to compensate for the sacrifice of our 200,000 fellow countrymen. We had gone forth, and in some measure, big or little, had acted as missionaries for the way of life we thought we represented. We preached the doctrine of our native democracy in the deserts and in the mountains. It may be unfortunate that we preached that sermon so often that we succeeded in convincing a large part of our foreign audiences; worse than that, we convinced ourselves. Mon 2-25-46

Take my own case for example: I felt, after 27 months in Africa and Italy, that the one perfect, the ideal land must be my America. Were we not the most potent and the least assuming of all the great powers? Yet on my return my nostrils are offended by the putrid odor given off by certain enlightened members of our Congress. On all sides there seems to be a revival of an American Hitlerism. I see Jews and Negroes assailed in Congress, on buses and in restaurants with such vigor as would make the defendants at Nuernburg smile with satisfaction. I hear our triumphant Americans whimper because to feed a conquered, "liberated" Europe will mean the tightening of their ample belts. Did our soldiers fight to preserve the American girth or was it for some majestic ideal which is being so completely prostituted as to make us give up in despair. I, for one, want to hope that the discordant, empty sounds I hear are not symptomatic or meaningful. Am I wrong?

JOSEPH NAPOLI.

Washington, Feb. 15.

'Not a Negro? Then You Don't Know'—Buckmaster

Kansas City Call

CHICAGO. — (ANP) — "No average American white person can ever know what they would do if they were a Negro."

That blunt declaration comes from Henrietta Buckmaster, noted author of 'Deep River' and "Let My People Go."

Miss Buckmaster writing on the subject, "If I Were A Negro," in the February Digest, declares: 2-15-46

"There is a peculiar and deep presumption in any white person saying what he would do if he were a Negro. He does not know what he would do any more than he knows what he would do if he fell under a train and lost his leg, or drifted for 40 days in an open boat. He might plan; he might be quite loquacious on the subject, but he would not know.

"No average American white person has been prepared to face the heavy closed door of segregation. And segregation is, to my way of thinking, the one word that sums up the entire sociological, economic and psychic problem of the Negro."

Washington Calling

By Marquis Childs

Times Dispatch

Thurs 2-21-46

WASHINGTON—Long residence in Washington is likely to induce a corrosive cynicism concerning human motives. It may be that this is merely an occupational disease of politicians and those who associate with politicians, accentuated in the capital where politics is the chief occupation.

In announcing that she had been received into the Catholic Church, Clare Boothe Luce apparently felt it necessary to add that she was retiring from political life, lest her action be interpreted in some way as a bid for votes.

Like so many others before her, Mrs. Luce has discovered that it is difficult in politics to get one's serious utterances taken seriously. Her final decision to retire may have had some connection with a drama of disillusionment that took place 10 days before the announcement of her religious conversion.

The Congresswoman from Connecticut put a great deal of time and stress on a speech to be delivered at the annual Lincoln Day banquet of the Republican members of the House and the Women's Republican Club of the District of Columbia. The speech dealt with the Negro in America.

Richmond, Va.

MRS. LUCE hit hard at injustice and discrimination. It was a long way from the traditional Lincoln's Day speech paying lip service to Republican dogma on the Negro.

Running through the speech was the theme of the brotherhood of man; the profound belief that underlies the Christian faith, more often honored in the breach than in the observance.

"As Christians," said Mrs. Luce, "we know that there are no such things as 'Negro rights' or 'white rights.' There are only human rights which Negro and white and brown and yellow all claim equally as members of the human family and children of God. In every way the Christian approach to the problem is the soundest, the truest and the safest."

Mrs. Luce's well-dressed, well-fed audience was startled. They had expected, from her, wit and sarcasm at the expense of the Democrats.

As she warmed to her theme, she went even further. She attacked Senator Bilbo, of Mississippi, directly by name, a violation of "congressional courtesy."

"It has been said," Mrs. Luce declared, "'If any man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar.' Against this supreme charge, Senator Bilbo must find himself defenseless, now and eternally. Let us try as best we can to stay out of this dreadful docket with him, for unhappily all of us have, to some extent, failed our brothers."

This was calling a United States Senator a liar, even though it was done by way of the Bible. When Mrs. Luce finished her speech, there was only a faint pitter-patter of perfunctory applause. Several choleric Republicans are said to have left the dining room in the middle of the address.

Thurs 2-21-46

REPRESENTATIVE CHARLES LA FOLLETTE, of Indiana, a liberal Republican, and one of the few at the dinner who heartily applauded Mrs. Luce's courage, offered to have the speech put in the Congressional Record. It was discovered, however, that this could not be done without deleting the references to Bilbo, in deference to congressional courtesy, and Mrs. Luce refused to permit her remarks to be edited.

The press carried almost no reference to the speech. Altogether, her most earnest effort since she has been in Washington was ignored, leaving her to the unhappy conclusion that, whereas a wisecrack will make Page 1, virtue must be its own reward.

Disillusion was compounded for Mrs. Luce when she learned that those who had been annoyed with her speech were explaining it away by saying she was merely bidding for the Negro and the labor vote in her district. This was the unkindest cut of all.

There has been so much double talk about the "Negro problem." That may be one reason for the reception given Mrs. Luce's hard-hitting speech.

But this cynical capital is always looking for hidden motives. The game of political poker, as it is played in Washington, takes nothing for granted.

FILIPINO WIVES OF WHITE GI'S ARE TOLD U. S. IS NO PLACE FOR THEM

Pittsburgh Courier

MANILA, P. I.—(ANP)—Scores of Filipino girls married to white Americans who had hoped to go to America and find happiness in married life, were shocked and disillusioned last week when Capt. F. S. Forkner, U. S. Army chaplain attached to AFWESPAC, told them very plainly that such marriages were doomed to failure.

"If Filipino girls are thinking of a pleasant life in the United States where they can raise a happy family, they had better think some more," said the chaplain.

GIVES VIEWS AT FORUM

He expressed his views during an open forum at the University of Santo Tomas following a talk on GI-Filipino marriages by a local social worker.

Without minding words, Chaplain Forkner said: "Race prejudice exists. It is wrong and extremely unfortunate. We are doing our best to combat it, but such a fight must take a long time.

"I ask every party contemplating a GI-Filipino marriage to know that a Filipino coming to the United States with her American husband will not be accepted socially. Her children will be looked down upon by other children.

STANDS AS A FACT 1-19-46

"Such discrimination is to be condemned. But since it is a fact, it must be taken into account by Filipino girls planning to marry GIs."

Chaplain Forkner said that owing to difficulties arising from marriages between Filipino girls and white American soldiers here, Army authorities in the Philippines have adopted a policy of disapproving all applications of GIs to marry Filipino girls, except for emergency reasons.

MARRIAGES SUCCESS IN UNITED STATES 1-19-46

In the United States, many white women have married Filipino husbands and their children attend white schools, chiefly Catholic parochial schools. They live in white neighborhoods and have white associates. The Army plan to discourage intermarriages of this nature involves what the Army says it does not set out to do—when it discusses Negroes—and that is to adjust and remedy social problems.

FROM THE RECORD — FOR THE RECORD

New Republic 3-4-46

Sen. Ellender (D, La.): . . . The colored people of the South are the wards of the white people of the South. We understand them. We never attempt to give them a right by law which we do not expect them to exercise. We do not coddle them. We do not appease them, as is being done in the North. . . . The quicker the politicians of the nation realize that this country will not survive unless we have white supremacy, the better off we will be.

Sen. Russell (D, Ga.): Of course, we will starve to death before we will strike down the bars and let whites and blacks go to school together.

Sen Overton (D, La.): As a Democrat . . . I wish to say that it would be infinitely better for the Negro to adhere to the Republican Party rather than to the Democratic Party. . . . We do not want the Negroes in the Party. They do not belong in the Democratic Party.

Sen. Maybank (D, S. C.): If the bill [Fair Employment Practice Commission] became a law I would be willing to filibuster against the confirmation of anyone to be a member of such a commission . . . Colored citizens in the South have made great progress, and I am certain that the law-abiding Negroes of South Carolina would not wish to have any laws enacted which would in any way interfere with the segregation of their race under present conditions.

3-4-46

Sen O'Daniel (D, Texas): We in the South, especially in Texas, have no colored problem whatever. There are many Negroes living in our state; there are many white people living in our state; there are many Mexican citizens living in our state; and many citizens of Mexican origin live in our state. We all get along fine. There is no discrimination. We keep things separate. We have some segregation laws which are just as satisfactory to the colored people as to the white people. . . . Some people have the impression that the colored people are disqualified by law to vote in Texas. That is not a fact. Such an impression is absolutely unfounded and untrue. A colored person can pay a poll tax and thereby become qualified to vote in Texas, the same as any other citizen. We are very liberal with the colored people in Texas. —*From the Congressional Record.*

CIVIL LIBERTIES HELD GAINING HERE

N.Y. Times

World Bill of Rights Issues Seen as Early Development by American Union

International problems of civil liberty will emerge with the development of the United Nations Organization, the American Civil Liberties Union predicted in a review of civil liberties in 1945 and a forecast for 1946, made public yesterday.

These problems, the forecast asserted, will involve directly the liberties of the American public and of minorities under American jurisdiction. The union stressed particularly freedom of communication by press, radio and motion pictures; the civil rights of natives in colonial countries, and the protection of refugees from oppression.

Favorable Tendencies Seen

On the domestic scene, the review reported "surprisingly favorable tendencies developed during the war which must be implemented both by prompt international and domestic action, if the principles of the Bill of Rights are to be vindicated in peace."

It called for the promotion of racial equality before the law, saying this can be most effectively accomplished by the enactment of a bill for a permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee. It also asks the passage of bills admitting resident Filipinos and East Indians to American citizenship; satisfaction of the property claims of Japanese Americans evacuated from the West Coast, and determination by the courts of the validity of the deportation of native-born Japanese Americans who renounced citizenship in wartime.

Action to insure self-determination for Puerto Rico would have a great effect in liberalizing colonial policy throughout the world, the review declares.

Pending measures that receive the union's approval include bills for equalizing the pay of women with that of men, abolition of poll taxes in Federal elections; transfer to the courts from the Post-office Department of the power of censorship over publications, and settlement of property claims by Indian tribes against the United States. Opposed are peacetime military training and restriction of the right of labor to strike.

Recommends 1946 Action

Only a few issues arising out of the war require action in 1946, according to the union. These include release from prison and the restoration of civil rights of conscientious objectors and other persons convicted for utterances or publications during the war.

"Significant gains" in civil liberties during 1945 were listed as removal of restrictions on the return of Japanese Americans to the Pacific Coast and the opening of Navy service to them; passage in New York State of a Fair Employment Practice Act and court decisions prohibiting unions from excluding or segregating Negroes; repeal by Georgia of the poll tax; court decisions voiding retroactive State labor laws.

Listed as losses are the failure to put the FEPC on a permanent footing; failure of the Senate to act on repeal of the poll tax and to admit resident Filipinos to citizenship; the Supreme Court decision upholding the Illinois Supreme Court in denying admission to the bar of a pacifist lawyer; intimidation in California against returning Japanese Americans.

Change in the Negro's Status

Va. 3-31-46 Sunday

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

James Wyatt Moore's letter on March 28 under the heading "The Negro's Deserts," is one of those polite and diplomatic statements for which the Negro-baiters in some parts of the South are famous.

I do give full credit to Mr. Moore's statement that many Negroes merit praise and respect of the nation.

But I want to answer just one question asked by Mr. Moore: "Did the fact that the Negro had to fight to defend his country change his status?" My answer: If that status is below the dignity of men, if it is subservient to the status of white men, as it is in some parts of this great democracy, then the Negro has the right to demand a change in his status. And if we white men deny that change, if we, or at least some of us, keep on looking down on the Negro, taking away many opportunities of life and the pursuit of happiness, then I see very dark indeed. Did you ever read Vincent Benet's prayer: "If our brothers are oppressed, we are oppressed; if their freedom is taken away, our freedom is taken away"? Please don't let's play Hitler's game. 3-31-46

HERBERT LEE SYBELL.
Ft. Eustis.

Magazine Issue Devoted To Group Bias Control

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh Pa.

PHILADELPHIA — (ANP) — Whether the United States learned anything or not about controlling group prejudice can be learned from the March 1946 number of the Annals of the American Academy of Political Science, just out here, and which has devoted its entire issue to the subject, "Controlling Group Prejudice."

Published at the University of Pennsylvania, the Annals presents a symposium from the pens of leading educators, labor relations experts, publicists, and investigators, under the editorship of Dr. Gordon W. Allport, chairman of the department of psychology, Harvard University.

WIDE FIELD COVERED

"Controlling group prejudice" in and by education, industry and business, government, housing, private agencies, enterprises of communication and entertainment is described.

Dr. Louis Wirth, professor of sociology, University of Chicago, starts the issue with an article on the "Unfinished Business of American Democracy," while a number of articles close the volume with the research now going on to counteract prejudice. *Sat. 4-13-46*

Negroes in several fields are among the contributors, who include John A. Davis, FEPC's director of review and analysis, who writes on "non-discrimination in the Federal Services"; Dr. Robert C. Weaver, of the American Council on Race Relations, "Housing in a Democracy"; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, of Fisk University, "National Organizations in the Field of Race Relations," and G. James Fleming, of the American Friends Service Committee, who co-authors an article with the Rev. Francis J. Haas, Catholic bishop, on "Personnel Practices and Wartime Changes." *Sat. 4-13-46*

Articles not written by Negroes include: "Army Policies Toward Negro Soldiers," by Arnold Rose; "The Role of the Police" by Davis McEntire and Joseph E. Weckler; "Unions and Negro Employment," by Herbert R. Northrup: "The Effort of Organized Religion" by Everett R. Clinchy; "The Press in the Control of Inter-Group Tensions," and "Radio as an Agency of National Unity," by Lyman Bryson and Dorothy Rowden.

Negroes and Social Equality

Times-Dispatch

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

In your issue of June 6 you could have added, for the sake of accuracy, the word "Immediately" at the end of your editorial captioned "The Skies Won't Fall."

Wed. 6-12-46

Not a great many years ago the Negro proclaimed from the housetops that he had no thought of social equality nor any desire for it; he wanted only his "rights." *Richmond, Va.*

Well, the Communistic Hillmanites, liberalites and some well-meaning Americans have prompted the Negro to such an extent that, having gained point after point, he is now boldly and brazenly bidding for social equality privileges.

Shades of Lee and Jackson!

A McGUIRE PATIENT.

Richmond.

Indian Asks:

'Will U. S. Treat Me Like Negro?'

Courier

NEW DELHI, India—(ANP)—A deep fear of race prejudice was revealed here recently by a 21-year-old Brahmin woman as the reason why East Indians avoid Negroes when visiting America. She had expressed a desire to visit the United States, but inquired if she would "be treated like a Negro?" *Sat. 5-4-46*

Parrying the question indirectly, her American white guest admitted that "you know the answer." She demanded the truth. He replied, 'We have castes as well as you have." To his question when she was leaving for America, she answered, "I'm not."

British War Brides Get Lecture on U.S. Color Bar

AFRO-AMERICAN
Baltimore, Md.

NEW YORK — A lecture on white supremacy, jim crowism, and the "approved" American way of handling colored people highlighted the voyage of the first large group of British war brides of American merchant seamen who arrived here recently aboard the transport Saturnia, the AFRO learned last week. *Sat.*

Although all of the brides were white, they resented the unfair conditions meted out to them during the entire trip, and expressed their dissatisfaction openly.

Of particular note, was the incident in which two of the brides who were seen talking to colored personnel aboard the vessel, were reported to a master sergeant who came down and delivered a sermon on "American ways."

Warned of Deportation

He told them that Americans resent strongly this sort of thing, and advised them against a repetition. Also aboard the ship were a number of brides of GI's, who were accorded much better treatment than the seamen's wives.

When the latter complained, they were told that they were lucky to be on the ship and if they didn't like it, they knew what to do. *5-14-46*

When the brides rebelled at not being allowed to talk to colored seamen, they were warned that they had better behave themselves. . .and that if they tried to stir up trouble in the United States, they would be deported.

Privileges Denied

Post—Washington, D.C.

Congratulations on your fine article of May 26 on Washington's 350 Nisei. I am a Negro, and, as such, I am well aware of "the thorny road strewn with disappointments and discriminations."

As I read, one pertinent fact loomed before me. In connection with these Japanese, several schools and places were mentioned which I, an American citizen, whose parents and grandparents were loyal American citizens, cannot enter simply because I am a Negro. It is indeed hard to be duly and properly sympathetic when one realizes that with all their thorny path, these Nisei are welcome in places where a Negro dare not enter, that these Nisei enjoy privileges that we Negro Americans have denied us. *5-31-46*

It is a sad reflection on the warped, contradictory interpretation of democracy which some citizens entertain. *Friday*

GRACE H. SMITH

Washington.

Race-Hating Lands Can't Lose A Morality They Never Had

Daily Worker, New York, N.Y.
Tue. 4-16-46

By WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University, Washington, D. C., spoke recently in Chicago before a general session of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. Among other things, he touched upon the vitally important question of "moral leadership" in world affairs.

Dr. Johnson started by saying that the "moral leadership" of the world might be lost to the Western Hemisphere—meaning principally, I believe—lost to the United States and Great Britain "if the black and yellow races and the young people have to look to Russia for fulfillment of their hopes." *Tue. 4-16-46*

Russia, said the learned doctor has a moral power acquired from her own dealing with her own races." The head of Howard University thereby correctly intimated that such moral power has a great appeal to youth and the racial minorities which are discriminated against in the Western world.

Herein, of course, lies the essence of the question. First: How can the Western Hemisphere lose a moral leadership in world affairs when its attitude toward racial minorities is one of discrimination? Is discrimination not the negation of social morality? Can the West lose what it hasn't got?

But, secondly: If it hasn't any moral leadership why would the good man from Howard University imply that it has? Why would he "warn" the West that its moral leadership might be lost? That is the question that is addressed to intellectuals generally. It goes to the very heart of the ideological position taken by Negro intellectuals today.

Dr. Johnson had a truly wonderful starting point for his talk. He had an opportunity possessed by few to expose the moral decadence of Western Hemisphere leadership and the fundamental causes. He is in a unique position.

Mordecai Johnson is president of a Negro university, maintained by the U. S. Government in the capital of the nation. The existence of that university reveals a policy of government by segregation, jimcrowism and prejudice. That policy reflecting racial hatred and contempt is not only brazenly flaunted before the world in the realm of education, but the same attitude dominates the economic and political relations between Negroes and the government where it sets the same pattern of moral degeneracy.

These facts are known to the world. It is precisely at this moment that they must be ruthlessly exposed. *Tue. 4-16-46*

THE DOCTOR'S DILEMMA

The president of Howard had the platform, he had a wonderful stage. The situation in the Security Council of the UN, where the Western Hemisphere with the blood of the Indonesians, Filipinos, of Hindus and Chinese, on its hands, is seeking to discredit the same Soviet Union which "has a moral power acquired from its dealing with its races"—all of this challenged Johnson to speak out.

But he failed to display the moral courage or to give the moral leadership, history and humanity everywhere seeking freedom expected from a leader of an oppressed disfranchised people. Did Mordecai Johnson fear that his university would lose its government appropriation if he told the world that no moral leadership can be expected from the present rulers of the West? Undoubtedly he faced a dilemma. But honesty would have gained him new supporters. What a world for Johnson to support—a world where honesty is no longer expedient because a jim-crow university must be made financially secure!

The leader of Howard faced a grave moral challenge and flunked it. *Tue. 4-16-46*

What moral leadership has England given the world in its attitude toward India, Africa, Egypt, the Near and Far East? The moral bankruptcy of British imperialism stinks before the world. Does the United States occupy a different position before mankind?

The moral leadership that the Western Hemisphere is getting today comes from the ranks of labor and its Communist Parties.

Race Tension Rising, FEPC Member Says

Washington Post, D.C.

Increasing racial discrimination all over the country was reported last night by Eugene Davidson, member of the President's committee on fair employment practices.

Speaking here on a broadcast of the Institute of Race Relations, he said, "the problem of discrimination is growing. It is an appalling thought that a minority group can only expect a decent living during a war. *Tues.*

"Many of these victims of un-Americanism are soldiers and sailors who have played a dangerous and important part in the victory of democracy."

"This situation is dangerous," he declared. "It is not good for the minority groups, and it is worse for the majority groups. It breeds race tension. It nurtures immorality of citizenship, and it cultivates disease for housing juvenile delinquency and relief rolls for which all must pay."

Racial Segregation

It was indeed heartening to read your editorial of June 5 in which approval was given to the Supreme Court decision outlawing certain sections of Virginia's Jim Crow law. You pointed out, quite appropriately, that the court's opinion lacked completeness in that it ignored the issue of fundamental right involved and failed to repudiate "the essential evil of discrimination itself."

Racial segregation, or the forced separation of Negroes from whites, is the hand-maiden of racial discrimination. It is based upon the long discredited theory of racial inequality and has its roots in a morally indefensible slave tradition. The various State laws which require the separation of the races are of doubtful constitutionality. *Mon. 6-8-46*

Negroes are opposed to segregation not because they desire to associate with white people, but rather because of the humiliation and frustration they feel in the face of the many indignities segregation imposes upon them. They have come to recognize segregation for what it is, an often subtle but always vicious system of exploitation which effectively denies them equality of opportunity wherever it operates.

It is of vital importance to all of us. The issue is: Segregation or Democracy? "Or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?"

C. H. PARRISH.

Soviets Take Slap at U.S. Treatment of Minorities

Political Writer Says High Principles of World War II Are Being Disregarded

By CHATWOOD HALL

MOSCOW (By Cable).—Interpreted as a bid by the Soviet Union to seize the moral leadership of the world now claimed by the United States was an article last week in New Times, official Russian magazine, condemning America's persecution of her colored citizens, Indians and Latin Americans.

The article, written by B. Borisoff, one of the Soviet's leading political commentators, severely criticizes America for not making real to 15,000,000 of her darker citizens all of the rights and privileges for which World War II was fought.

"During World War II which bore a liberating anti-fascist character, many representatives of oppressed peoples unselfishly fought for the high principles proclaimed by the United Nations," Borisoff writes.

"Now upon returning home, they are again coming up against gloomy reality. In the United States as before, colored people are being persecuted and the rights of Indians and Latin Americans are being restricted."

Report Spread of KKK

As if to support this observation by Borisoff, newspaper dispatches from America given much space in Russian newspapers, report increased activities of the Ku Klux Klan in widely separated sections of the United States.

Turning to South Africa, the article states that out of the South African native population of six and one half millions, almost half of the natives have been driven onto native reserves, which occupy only 13 per cent of arable land.

Laws have been drawn restricting native ownership of land to these arrid spots, which practically means 60 per cent of the population is deprived of the right to possess 87 per cent of the land.

Hunger, poverty and epidemics rage among the natives and in the reservations there is only one doctor for each 30,000 natives. The natives are not permitted in motion picture houses, restaurants, or theatres. In the parks and buses, special seats are reserved for "natives."

Compared to Nazis

The South African version of America's jim crow laws, was compared by the New Times writer to signs erected by the Nazis in occupied European cities.

The United Nations, Borisoff points out, should consider the plight of the natives already under the heel of white South Africans, before granting the request of the Union of South Africa for complete annexation of southwest Africa, now mandated territory under the old League of Nations charter.

America's slowness in granting independence to the Philippinos was seen in another article as a broken American promise to the people of those islands. A third article assailed U.S. Occupation authorities in Japan for defying world opinion in not bringing Emperor Hirohito to trial as "one of the leading war criminals."

The reactionary press in America was also criticized for inflating the Soviet-Iran issue to divert world attention to the British occupation of Greece, along with an attempt by the Anglo-American bloc to mold the UN into an instrument for domination of some countries over others as counterposed to those nations of eastern Europe and the majority of mankind who inhabit colonial and dependent countries.

Alpha Xi Delta and DAR

Two items in the news of the week impress us as being particularly pertinent.

First is that the snooty Daughters of the American Revolution have rescinded their earlier decision to deny use of Constitution Hall to the Tuskegee Institute Choir for a benefit performance for the United Negro College Fund drive.

But no shouting yet, please. No important issue has been resolved. The DAR has merely taken down its jim crow signs for one day and will likely put them back up the next.

The great mass of us who are interested in victories for the people and not temporary advantages for the few, find no cause for rejoicing in this incident.

Item No. 2 concerns the action of national officers of Alpha Xi Delta Sorority in suspending the chapter at the University of Vermont, purportedly because it had pledged Miss Crystal Malone, honor graduate of Washington's Dunbar High School.

In the University of Vermont case, we have a group of young white women who select a member of another race for membership because they find her to be of the calibre and character desired for membership. In selecting Miss Malone they acted naturally.

Now come the national sorority sisters with some outmoded regulations and concepts seeking to restrain the natural action of their Vermont sisters. It is all quite confusing.

Those persons who desire prejudice as a luxury are entitled to it, but they are not entitled to force it upon others. Such dictatorial action is but another evidence of the organized pressure exerted against groups which are trying to act naturally and normally in a democracy.

The Vermont sorority has stated that it will stand its ground. More power to it. The DAR has back tracked a bit. Probably when these dear souls find out that it didn't hurt, they, too, will be willing to continue acting like human beings.

— WASHINGTON NOTES —

Clark and Bilbo

by Rob F. Hall

WASHINGTON

IT IS a calamity that the gentleman from Texas, Tom Clark, should be U.S. Attorney General at this time. There are profound stirrings among the people, prompted by fears that our imperfect democracy is threatened, and by determination to make it cover the whole people. These are times that call for a crusader in the Justice Department, a man consecrated to the ideals of human liberty which Jefferson and Paine expounded.

Mr. Clark is not such a man. His attachment to the fight for civil liberties is purely accidental, a marriage of convenience. He enters every battle for human rights looking to the right and left, searching for some excuse to abondon it. The brutal attack on the Negro people in Columbia, Tenn., was followed by such a tide of angry protest that Mr. Clark could not safely ignore it.

But he did not despair. His FBI agents learned by laborious investigation what any reader of the Daily Worker knew from the outset — that the Communists were deeply concerned with this denial of elementary civil rights.

As a result, the Grand Jury, influenced no doubt by the FBI's "findings," reported, not that Negroes were flogged and murdered, but that "outside Communist agitators" had brought turmoil to the quiet and pleasant Tennessee countryside.

Clark's New Pattern

Thus we find Mr. Clark telling the Chicago Bar Association that "we must be alert as officers of the court to see the difference between sincere and honest protest of groups of our citizens against injustice and the effort of these outside ideologists to stir up trouble according to the old plan of 'divide and rule'."

Mr. Clark has thereby set a pattern by which he will dismiss every protest against brutal violation of civil rights. If labor or Communists participate in the protest, it does not come from "sincere and honest" groups. It can be thrust aside as "outside ideology."

In his address to the Chicago lawyers, Mr. Clark was at great pains to prove that the Department of Justice had limited jurisdiction in the defense of civil rights. He contended that the three Civil War amendments and the five statutes enacted to enforce them have been whittled down by subsequent court decisions so that, as a result, "we now have on the statute books only fragments of the original acts."

Therefore, Mr. Clark argues, there is little his department can do. "Every day my department receives numerous complaints . . . concerning violations of personal rights. . . . The great majority reveal on their face that no federal jurisdiction is present. In comparatively few instances do we have authority to investigate and prosecute."

'Official Action'

For instance, under section 51 of the federal statutes, the Federal government is powerless to act, he stated to "protect the individual or the minority against mob or ruffian activity. While such attacks may amount to a deprivation of freedom of speech or other rights guaranteed by the Bill of Rights, these rights are **rights protected only against official action, not private action.**"

This legal "logic" must have occurred to Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo last week when he urged all the "red blooded Anglo-Saxon men" of Mississippi to use violence if necessary to prevent Negroes from voting.

The right of Negroes to vote goes back to the 14th amendment to the U. S. Constitution, which Mr. Clark, no less than Bilbo, is sworn to uphold. It derives more recently from the white primary decision of the U. S. Supreme Court, which these gentlemen are also sworn to uphold.

Bilbo urged his hoodlum friends "to resort to any means to keep hundreds of Negroes from the polls in the July 2 primary."

"And if you don't know what that means, you are just not up on your persuasive measures," Bilbo added.

If a lynch mob kidnaps and murders a Negro returning home from the polls, this will be "private action" and no "official action" Bilbo will say. Will Tom Clark agree with him?

Mr. Clark has admitted that among the rights which the Federal government must protect against private as well as official violence is the right to vote.

But one cannot feel any confidence that he will use the full power of his office in the protection of that right. One is inclined to suspect that Mr. Clark will find some legal loophole to justify his leaving the Negro people of Mississippi to the tender mercies of Bilbo's friends.

Your columnist is not a lawyer. But he thinks that there is such a thing as incitement to violence. There is such a thing as conspiracy—even if it open and unashamed—to violate the federally protected rights, such as the right to vote. On this basis, Mr. Clark could move today to indict and prosecute Bilbo and his friends.

Without Reason Or Rhyme

The American public was treated to a touch of drama last week when a crew of 20 white men quit the Liberty Ship SS (of all names) loaded with UNRRA foodstuffs to feed starving, liberated peoples (of all causes) and headed for Greece (of all places) in protest to a Negro shipmate. In other words, four years of bloody war failed to produce in these white men any sort of mental change; for they seemed to want a Lily-white ship to transport Lily-white food to Lily-white people, even if they are starving liberatees. American color-prejudice is the most unpredictable, yet most persistent thing in our existence. It lacks both reason and rhyme.

Negro's Plight In U. S. Compared to Japanese

Dr. Morton Grodzins, who left University of Louisville in 1942 with an M.A. degree and a reputation as a bright young man, returned to his old school yesterday and spoke to a student convocation about his extensive studies in the relocation of West Coast Japanese after the Pearl Harbor attack.

Grodzins, who is now research director of a fact-finding committee for the Council of State Governments and professor of political science at University of Chicago, added another honor to his U. of L. collection when he was initiated last night into Beta Epsilon Circle of Omicron Delta Kappa, national honorary college fraternity.

In his undergraduate days the young political science student amazed his classmates and professors by running the school's public relations department and serving as director of student publications while his college chums were more interested in filling in no-break dance cards. He was awarded the university's Woodcock Medal, given for outstanding scholarship and service, and named dean of the College of Cardinals, honorary society which preceded the O.D.K. chapter here.

Says Equality Is Necessary.

Speaking on "The Erosion of Patriotism" at the Playhouse on Belknap Campus where he attended similar "convos" as a student, Grodzins discussed the effect of the nation's evacuation and resettlement policy on the American Japanese who were compelled to leave their homes, farms and businesses to begin a new kind of life amid barbed wire and roving searchlights.

"An individual's allegiance will withstand maltreatment," Grodzins explained. "But multiplication of abuses will weaken it, and as abuse continues, loyalty is eroded.

"If democracy lives up to its principles, rather than flaunting them, it must guarantee the same privileges and give the same rights to all. Otherwise democracy will fail, not on its merits, but becaused it failed to be democratic.

"The situation of the Negro is even more pertinent than that of the Japanese Americans. We cannot, in the end, expect Negroes to be devoted to this nation if democracy denies them political freedom, decent homes and full economic opportunity. And we certainly cannot expect the people abroad to be won to democracy if, as recent reports indicate, we dissipate their recuperative energies and refuse them rations."

Aims At Simplification.

Grodzins, who also holds a Ph. D. degree from the University of California awarded in 1945, said his committee of the Council of State Governments is trying to untangle State-local legal and fiscal relations throughout the nation and, after consultation with Governors, would make recommendations for possible legislation.

To illustrate the complexity of the problem, he revealed that nobody knows how many local governmental units are in existence in the nation—although one estimate has 155,000.

The Young Improve On Some of Their Elders

A POLL conducted by ELMO ROPER and reported in *The New York Herald Tribune* contains some interesting, and on the whole encouraging, sidelights on the disease of anti-Semitism. Mr. ROPER is a cautious and responsible poll-taker and the answers to his carefully phrased questions seem to indicate that there is no net increase in the number of people who declare a prejudice against Jews, but only an increase in the openness with which the prejudice is admitted. The total of approximately 9 per cent of anti-Semites among the population remains the same as it was in 1943.

Curiously, many of the normal courses followed by prejudice are reversed in the case of anti-Semitism, according to Mr. ROPER. Its greatest incidence (36.2 per cent) is found in the great cities and it decreases steadily in rural areas, in the South and in the Far West. It is more prevalent among the rich and middle classes than among the poor, although it does not infect the well-educated rich. But, and this is distinctly a cheering revelation, it is least prevalent among the young. One-fourth of the people between 21 to 34 showed some tinge of prejudice whereas 40 per cent of those from 35 to 49 were guilty, and 34 per cent of adults over 50.

Another interesting sidelight of the poll was that the individuals most sharply professing anti-Jewish sentiment were also to a large degree anti-British and anti-Soviet. "In fact," says Mr. ROPER, "there are indications in the study . . . that people who permit themselves to single out any one group against which to be particularly antagonistic are inclined to extend their antagonism to other groups." History has borne out this observation on numerous occasions, but the fact that young people seem to have been inoculated to some extent against the virus of this form of race prejudice is a thoroughly encouraging sign. It should hearten to further effort those hard-working groups which are tempted at times to feel that their efforts make little headway against the flow of prejudice. Here is evidence that the effort is meeting at least some success.

Seeks Answers to Solution of Negro Question

Washington, D. C.

Editor, Daily Worker:

I have read your paper every day for the past 5 months and find it most informative. I have made a New Year's resolution to continue reading it as long as its policy does not change. From it I have gained an infinitely better understanding about anti-Semitism and Jim Crow than I could ever have from any local paper.

I have lived in Washington, D. C. for nearly 22 years and formerly led a rather sheltered life as far as race problems are concerned. Coming in contact with no other race but my own, I was completely ignorant of racial conditions as they exist. Not until I got a job and met other people did I learn the truth.

Why am I constantly reminded that I am a Negro? Why can't I enjoy the same rights and privileges as do other people? Must I go through the rest of my life feeling like a song being choked or a race horse in a small corral? If so, what can I do to keep my children, if I ever have any, from this same awful awakening?

Tell me what I can do to crush this racial inequality which is so deadly to a democracy.

ROBERT J.

What the Negroes Want

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

I am writing in reference to a letter which appeared in the paper February 2.

We, the Negroes of the South, do not wish to work or eat beside the white man if we are not welcome to do so. We do not want to share anything that is his or concerning him; we only want our rights and the equality to which we are entitled.

Speaking of wages, if we undertake the same kind of jobs that the white man undertakes, it is only fair that we should receive the same wages. Neither the Negro nor the white man needs to ridicule each other, because regardless of race, creed or color, they are both entitled to liberty and justice.

JOHN W. ROBINSON.

Ettrick.

The Negro and America

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

America is the grandest country in the world, if she would only wake up and get on the ball. After 14 months in Europe and seven months in the Philippines, I feel I am in a position to tell the facts.

Yes, America, the land of the brave, has a lot to learn, and I pray to God she will learn it soon. Yes, it's easy to tell other people how to live, but can we do it ourselves?

America has tried to push her policy down the throats of every other country in the world and yet can't live by it herself.

We who carried the torch at Bastogne, hit the beaches on D-Day, landed on Leyte and Okinawa, and invaded the Philippines know what democracy really is; it means sticking together to win the objective, regardless of race, creed or color. The men who flew the planes, the men who fought from foxholes, had the same idea—to win the battle for our homeland.

It has been said that you can fool all the people some of the time, but you can't fool all the people all the time. I have talked with Englishmen and Frenchmen who really knew the score on America.

It is my hope that the Negro will soon get his just rewards in America. We have always been loyal to everything America has called upon us to do; this was true in 1776, 1862, 1917 and 1941. It will be the same if we are called on again.

The Negro does not wish to be classed with the white man, nor does he want to be a partner in his business, but what he does wish is a chance to prove to the world that he is as good as any other race in the world. I believe we have done our part in the war; now won't America give us the same opportunity in the post-war world?

Remember, we fought for four freedoms. Can America teach the world how to live if she doesn't live right herself?

HERMAN L. ROSS.

Richmond.

Races

Editor Constitution: I am not arguing for or against anything but I would like to know why, in a nation that is supposed to be a haven for the persecuted, that one race is being fought for so much while a couple more races that I are treated much worse in this country are ignored.

For instance, the Negro is automatically an American citizen, while a Chinese or a Jap can never become a citizen no matter how long his family is in the U. S. A. I also understand that if an American marries an Oriental, his children cannot become citizens.

I understand that the primary reason for banning citizenship to the Oriental was that they were multiplying so fast on the West Coast that they threatened to overrun that part of the country. What are the Negroes doing in the South? If they keep up at the present rate, they will outnumber the other races two to one in another 50 years.

I am not against the Negro, I just used that race as an example. I am just tired of all this ballyhoo about equality when they just carry it half way.

MARION L. GILBERT, JR.

Athens.

JOHNSON CONDEMNS RACE CLASH IN SOUTH

The Rev. Dr. John H. Johnson, rector of St. Martin's Protestant Episcopal Church, Lenox Avenue and 122d Street, said in his sermon there yesterday morning that the killing by police of two Negroes who were under arrest and being questioned in Columbia, Tenn., did "great damage to inter-racial efforts the country over."

Dr. Johnson asserted that the "intimidation of Negroes by police is a common source of racial strife in certain sections of our country." No techniques in the field of racial amity can succeed unless supported by good-will on both sides, he said, adding:

"It seems right to expect that the stronger group should take the initiative. There is no doubt that Negroes are the ones whose lives are cheapest and can be mistreated without respect to their constitutional rights."

Dr. Johnson also discussed the labor situation and said that "no matter what our opinions as to the merits of the strikes, or our sympathies, the fact remains that the present situation is stupidly wasteful." He maintained that industrial peace would not be achieved unless labor and industry first gained a new confidence and a basic good-will.

Race Prejudice and Discrimination

Courier Journal Louisville Ky.

It might interest Virginia Bayard of Washington, D. C., and members of her approved Mason-Dixon Society to know that the Negro is aware of the fact that legislation cannot drive race prejudice from human hearts, but legislation can alert the community conscience to the fact that the law of the land is against the by-product of prejudice—racial segregation and discrimination—and accelerate forces that will change moral attitudes.

The Negro and others who favor the F.E.P.C. do so because it strikes at the undemocratic practice of discriminating against those seeking jobs because of their race or religion. The Negro is not seeking to impose his intimate friendship upon any person or persons who consider themselves too superior to appreciate his friendship. He is seeking liberty in its fullest sense. The Negro is a full-fledged American citizen and knows that he has earned the right to the same protection and equal opportunities to develop his life and raise his standard of living that other citizens have. Wed 2-20-46

The chief cornerstone of the United States is economic equality, guaranteed by the nation collectively to its citizens individually and pledged in these rights—life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. What is life to the Negro, or anyone else, without its material basis? How can an equal right to life be sustained without economic equality? What is liberty? Can the Negro be free and at the same time be relegated to a low place in life by laws, ordinances and practices which deny him an opportunity to participate in the material and spiritual advantages of civilization? Happiness depends largely upon economic conditions.

AMELIA B. RAY.

Louisville.

Is Clare Booth Luce Disillusioned?

Birmingham News Birmingham Alabama

BY MARQUIS CHILDS

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Southern Trip Is No Sentimental Journey

3-2-46

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In Cleveland and Pittsburgh our association and fraternizing was the same. In New York it was almost perfect. It seemed that I was introduced to half of Harlem. Friends of all shades of suntan and I went about everywhere together.

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On to Florida! Here was my first experience of feeling complete separativeness from an element of American citizens I admire and like.

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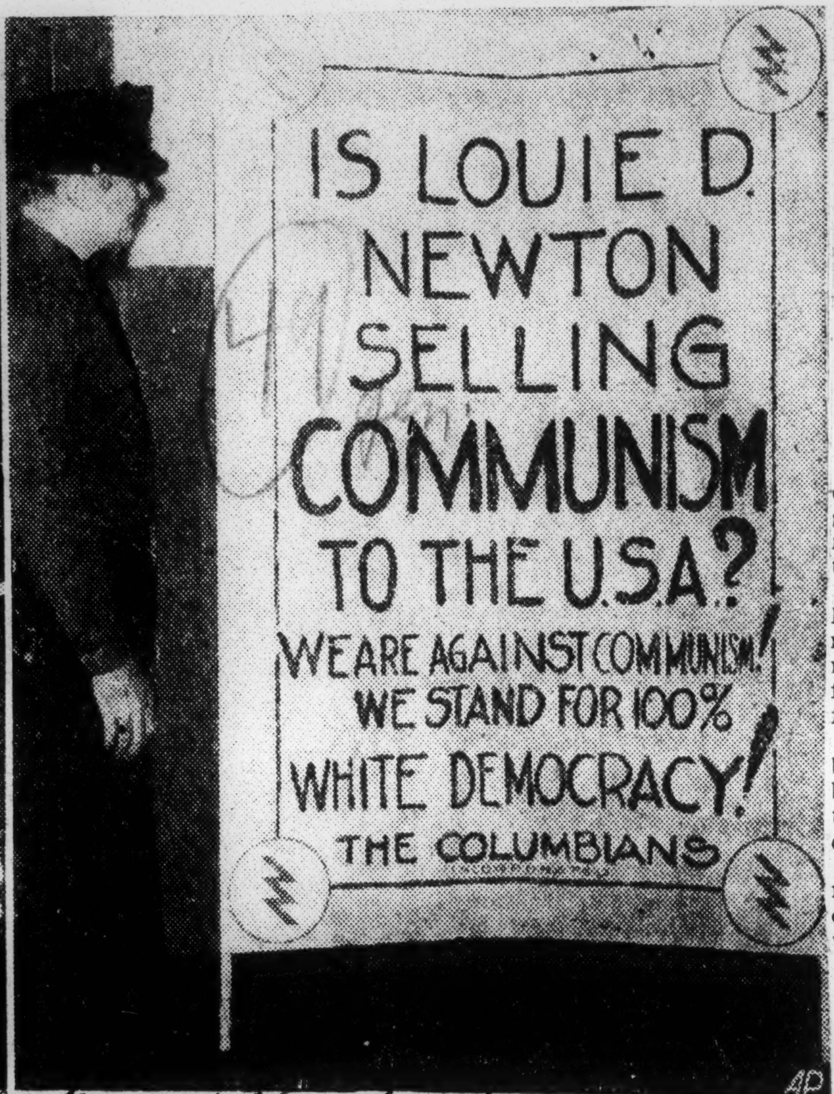

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Tues. 8-27-46

DR. LOUIE D. NEWTON (above, left), president of the Southern Baptist Convention, recently returned from an extensive tour of Soviet Russia, was picketed by two men bearing the sign (above, right) as he was making a talk on his experiences on the Russian tour at the Atlanta, Ga., Municipal Auditorium Sunday, Aug. 25. Police Officer D. Sims looks at the sign at police headquarters where the two unidentified pickters were taken before being released. (AP wirephoto).

Two Seamen Tried To Wed Whites; Get Calaboose Instead

Amsterdam News New York, N. Y. Sat. 8-24-46

By SID THOMPSON

GALVESTON — Two messmen in the merchant marine service, deeply in love with two pretty white English girls and who wanted to marry them, are now serving terms of six months each in the Federal correction penitentiary at Texarkana, Texas, for their temerity.

They are Thomas J. Hannah and Theodore Bell, 24, who gave as their home port, New York City, when they were placed on trial at Galveston for illegally bringing the girls into the United States. They were seamen aboard the ship William C. Endicott.

Girls Sent Home

The two girls, Joan Marie Cooks, 20, and Renee Morris Zegansky, 17, have been deported back to their native home in England by orders of Judge T. M. Kennerly. They left the states on June 8.

George Seamann Jensen, white steward aboard the Endicott, who accepted a bribe of $100 from the messmen to stow away the girls and who later turned states evidence against the four, was given thirty days in jail and fined $100. The messmen were also fined $150 each.

Betrayed By Accent

Daily papers in reporting the case, said the girls had lived with the men in Galveston County in a small Negro community before their apprehension and they were betrayed by their English accent. Search of records, however, showed the girls had arrived in Galveston on May 19 after a three weeks trip across the sea. They stayed aboard ship until the morning of May 20 when they came ashore. They were at liberty about two hours before their betrayal to the authorities.

At the trial both the girls professed undying love for the Negro men and asserted they had come to the U. S. to marry them and settle down to a life of domesticity They had planned landing in New York where they would not run afoul of discrimination and segregation. One of the girls was a buffet hand or waitress in her own country and the other was a saleslady.

Girls Still Want 'Em

Questioned by their attorney in Federal court and asked if they still wanted to marry the men, both girls answered "yes, definitely." "You're not prejudiced because they are members of the Negro race," they were asked. Their reply was "In England there is no difference. There is no color bar and everyone is the same." *Amsterdam News*

Attracting wide attention in Galveston, hundreds of white people attended the trial. At its conclusion more than two thirds of the people left the courtroom. *New York, N.Y.*

Testimony introduced by attorneys showed that the two couples had met in a restaurant in England and had fallen in love with one another after having several dates. They made their plans to marry and migrate to America. According to them, sailing orders were given before they had completed their plans to marry and they then decided to marry when they reached New York. Because of passport and visa difficulties, they planned to stow away aboard the Endicott. *Sat. 8-24-46*

They Disguised As Men

Buying complete outfits of discarded soldiers' uniforms for the girls, they disguised themselves as men and stowed away before sailing time.

Paying the steward $100 to help hide them, the men were given permission to hide them in a lockerroom next to the enginroom. They were fed from ship's stores everyday and fared well on the trip over, they said.

Rumors that two white girls had been smuggled aboard ship were bruited about daily but because of their disguise they were not discovered.

While at sea, the ship's captain received a change in his sailing orders and the boat put in at Galveston rather than New York. The Negro men were dismayed when they learned they would not land at New York but decided to make the best of the situation. They told the girls of Southerners hatred of things black and that they would have to get them to the North before they could wed, according to the girls.

Hide In Boom Town

Piecing together their story as unfolded in court, the girls after landing, were whisked away to the home of the wife of a taxi driver in Galveston, where the messmen left them. The wife engaged th cab to the village of Hitchcock, a boom town about 10 miles out of Galveston which flourished during the war because of the proximity of Camp Wallace, a training camp for soldiers and later for sailors.

The girls did not want to go to any white homes for fear of being betrayed and they asked they be taken to some colored peoples home where they could get a breakfast and discuss their future plans.

The Law Closes In

The taximan took them to the home of a Mr. and Mrs. Earnest Diggs. The home was one of those typical, two-roomed frame houses, no wallpaper, unpainted, unkempt and in run down condition, but the girls were glad to have some safe place to get their breakfast before beginning their journey North.

Paying Diggs $2.75 to cook the meal, the girls also gave them money for the food. Before they could eat, however, police came on the scene and placed them under arrest. After severe questioning of the Negro couple, police could learn nothing of the men. Placed under arrest, the girls were transported back to Galveston where they were placed in jail to await indictment by the grand jury. The jury returned the indictment after a wait of 30 days. They were charged with conspiring to evade immigration laws and illegal entry into the country.

A sentence of 30 days in jail suspended, provided they did not attempt to make illegal entry into the country within the next five years, was placed against them.

What Local Negroes Think

Sentiment among Negro people of Hitchcock, haltingly expressed because of fear of the law, seems to be that the two men in the case were given unjust sentences as people believe the white steward should have been given the severest penalty.

"Those colored boys could not have brought those girls into the country if the white man had not helped them and told them what to do," people told the reporter. They were particularly bitter against the steward because of his betrayal of the couples.

The steward is out of jail and the two messmen were incarcerated in the miserable jail at Texarkana. Such is "justice" as was ruled in the Southern part of the United States—the "land of the free."

THE PHILADELPHIA TRIBUNE editorially advises **"All Negroes should move from the South at once. They should leave the backwoods and 'Tobacco Roads' of the South, and come to Pennsylvania, New York, Illinois and every other civilized state in the Union."** *Daily Worker*

This is impractical and in the long run harmful advice, notwithstanding the terrible and crushing everyday experience of the southern Negro. Why should a people leave their homes, their lands nourished with sweat and blood, their very birthrights? This would be just what the Bilboes and the Talmadges want. And, in the light of recent murders, beatings and Ku Klux Klan threats in Freeport, N. Y., Harlem and Philadelphia, there's beginning to be little difference in the North and the South. Let every Negro stand pat wherever he is and fight like Joe Louis. *New York, N.Y. 8-9-46*

NEGRO BISHOP HOPEFUL FOR RACE IN GEORGIA

New York Times

Bishop W. J. Walls of the New York and New England District of the African Methodist Episcopal Church Zion said yesterday in an interview at Mother Zion Church, 151 West 136th Street, that "neither Negroes nor the nation need despair of Georgia."

"There is no need for the Negro to desert the South because we still have some hangovers of slavery there," he said. "We have got to live somewhere, and besides, all is not perfect up here." He expressed the belief that "justice will come to sinners in Georgia in due time." *Fri. 8-2-46*

Bishop Walls said that "as a Southernen who has lived all over" he had long since conclude dthat "the difference between the North and the South lies in the larger number of white people in the North who befriend the Negro." He said that there is still "an iron curtain drawn in the North to separate the Negro from his destiny in a free society." *New York*

"As long as educational, economic and political opportunities are denied the Negro in the North whether boldly or adroitly, he can not come into his own," he continued. "The Negro in the North is too comfortably adjusted to his environment to realize his opportunities or to embrace his duty both to himself and to his group."

Bishop Walls said that "radicals are necessary, perhaps, to keep up the alarm, but the average, hard-working Negro who is realistic is equally necessary." He said that the majority of Negroes are not radical. "They merely ask for the things that the average white man expects as his naturalright." *Fri. 8-2-46*

AMERICA'S ROLL OF DISHONOR

The Courier

Here is a good cross section of the violence and intimidation that has been practiced against Negro citizens during 1946. We make no attempt to record all the acts of mob aggression and police brutality because lack of space will not permit us to publish that unsavory record at this time: *Pittsburgh, Pa.*

JAN.—Four Negro vets killed by police officers in Birmingham, Ala. *Sat. 8-17-46*

FEB. 5—Two Ferguson brothers killed, one wounded by policeman, in Freeport, L. I.

FEB. 13—Isaac Woodard, just out of the Army, had his eyes gouged out by police at Aiken, S. C.

FEB. 25—Race riot at Columbia, Tenn.; two dead, ten injured, 100 arrested.

MAY 1—Beginning of a series of thirty-five bombings of Negro homes in a restrictive covenant war.

JUNE 12—Carlton Powell beaten by policeman in New York City. The action was unprovoked.

JULY 13—Mrs. Josey Stewart victim of unprovoked attack by

policeman in New York City.

JULY 17—Maceo Snites, veteran, dragged from home, killed by four whites, in Taylor County, Ga. He was only Negro to vote.

JULY 20—James Slappey, beaten by New York City policeman.

JULY 22—Leon McTatie, lynched by six white men in Lexington, Miss.; wrongly accused of stealing saddle.

JULY 25—Four Negroes lynched by white mob at Monroe, Ga.

AUG. 3—Buddy Wolf murdered by deputy sheriff in Hattiesburg, Miss.

AUG. 9—George Mike Elliott, blind veteran, beaten by policeman in Philadelphia.

AUG. 10—Negroes beaten and driven out of town by mob of whites at Athens, Ala.

Community Approach To Check Religious, Racial Hatreds Urged

Birmingham News — Birmingham Alabama

Our country is faced with its greatest threat in 25 years from hate movements, which will turn communities into "armed camps, with citizens fighting citizen" unless drastically curbed, Dr. Everett R. Clinchy, national president of the National Conference of Christians and Jews of New York, has warned in a July Fourth message to mayors of 3,000 cities and received here by Mayor Cooper Green.

The rise of the Ku Klux Klan, the spread of anti-Semitism, attacks against racial and national minority groups and the worsening of relations between Protestants and Catholics were cited as Dr. Clinchy asserted that the American people are faced with "growing and unrestrained hate which begins with slighting remarks, but ends with concentration camps and murders."

The message to community leaders outlined a program for immediate action and a long-range approach to keep subversive efforts permanently checked. The immediate strategy against a local hate movement involving organized top leaders of all groups to work on a community program. As the long-range program Dr. Clinchy suggested "a community approach to establish the principles of the American brotherhood, which guarantees to every citizen the rights and privileges each person wants for himself."

Monday 7-1-46

IN A LETTER TO MISS MARJORIE J. RANK, Alabama director of the organization, Mayor Green said: "I appreciate . . . the statements of Dr. Clinchy's which I received this morning. I, too, am opposed to hate of any kind."

Alabama's chairman of the Conference of Christians and Jews Donald Comer, stated: "I agree with the statements of Dr. Clinchy that out community must keep free from hate because it will be bad for business; it will poison political institutions; it will destroy community trust and confidence on which all law is established; it will be disastrous to religion; it will eventually turn the community into an armed camp. Surely brotherhood means giving to others the rights and dignities we want to keep for ourselves."

LETTERS

From the Readers

P.M. New York, N.Y.

'A Child Shall Lead . . .'

To the Editor: *Mon. 10-7-46*

One of my students, who once had an anti-Negro prejudice which he acquired in the streets, recently returned from a Summer camp where he met several Negro employes. A friendship sprang up which did wonders to eradicate his former bias. An almost poignant metamorphosis took place—his pain at the headlines regarding the Negro problem, the prejudice the lynchings, the callous indifference of officials.

For the first time in his young life, he is awakening to the contradictions of our democracy and is *trying* to do something about it! With great effort he has addressed himself to President Truman.

I send you a copy of the letter with the hope that it will inspire lethargic adult readers—"A little child shall lead them . . ."

New York FRED ROSENBERG

ENCLOSURE

Dear Mr. President:

I am 15 years of age and in the 1st Term of High School. Older people may say that I am too young to know much about prejudice, that I may not have the ability to express myself. But I know what is in my mind and heart.

Mr. President, I am a young American, and I am worried about what I read in the papers. I refer to the South and their treatment of Negroes. And I think something should be done about it.

I read and hear speeches about the future world, about peace and freedom for all. Yet I read that 20 Negro veterans were lynched since the end of the war. They fought for our country yet they more than ever are thinking, "What was I fighting for?"

They are the first fired and the last hired. Even the sheriffs don't enforce the laws that are to protect everyone. Is this what our teachers mean when they talk about the "Future World?" For the sake of the future world, Mr. President, *you* should do something about it because the Negroes are just as human as you and I.

Very truly,

VINCENT COTUGNO

Good Manners Between Rac[es]

The News and Courier Charleston, S.C.

Incidents in the news sometimes appear to occur in waves, especially tragedies. Airplane and railways crashes, kidnapings and hotel fires are reported in series. Lately there has been an unfortunate number of clashes that actually or apparently involved racial animosities. The worst of these was the murder of two negro couples in Georgia. Other incidents have occurred in Tennessee, Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi. The case of the blinded veteran also has been widely published. The News and Courier believes with considerable bias, as an example of brutality in South Carolina.

Amid all the sound and fury in the Northern press and on the radio from the lips of Liberalites, expressions of sound, common sense are welcome. The following from Interracial Notes, circulated by the general board of education of the Methodist Church with office in Nashville, bears repetition:

"Well-meaning people of both races cannot be too careful to avoid any action or attitude that might give offense. This is peculiarly a time when we need to make 'good manners' an invariable rule in our relations with people, treating them with unfailing courtesy and consideration, irrespective of race. It is still true, as the Bible says, that 'a soft answer turns away wrath'; still true in nearly every case that it takes two to make a quarrel".

One of the chief causes of irritation smoldering beneath the surface of race relations, ant to be kindled by any provocation, is the memory of dealings with unpleasant and bumptious persons of the other race. Both whites and negroes too often are guilty of arrogance, sullenness, chip-on-the-shoulder aggressiveness in their everyday contacts. White people should set an example of courtesy, and the new generation of negroes should cultivate the good manners that were characteristic of the "old time" members of their race. Unfortunately these words of advice are not likely to be read by the individuals to whom they most generally apply. The encouragement of an attitude of forbearance and good will as usual must originate with the upper level of both groups and spread to the remainder. *The News and Courier Thur.*

'Reign of Terror' Reported

The News and Courier

The New York Times has scooped the Southern press on an item of news which if true, should have been reported long ago. The Times underplayed the story shamefully, with a little two-line heading in an obscure position among its pages, multiplied to former fatness now that the teamsters have relented in their strike and consented to deliver newsprint to the office.

The reporter who carried tidings of a "reign of terror" in the South is Mr. Aubrey Williams, editor of The Southern Farmer. He said "the forces of law are being turned against the negro", and he called it "the worst thing that has happened in the past 40 years. . . . Negroes are crucified not once in a day but several times a day on trains, buses, wherever they live or seek work. . . . Federal action to date amounts to practically nothing." *Charleston, S. C.*

Mr. Williams spoke at a meeting in the interest of "100 days" of protest against mob violence, in what appears to be an invitation for new friction between the races. Presiding at the meeting was Paul Robeson, singer, who said he had "experienced race prejudice of the meanest kind, on the West Coast, in the East, the Middle West as well as in the South."

Why does not Mr. Williams report on the "reign of terror" in those other sections? Why is it news only when the South is "crucifying" negroes? Since the negro population is greater the "crucifixions" should be so commonplace that they are scarcely news any longer, yet when Singer Robeson reports that in the enlightened areas elsewhere in the United States the same kind of treatment is experienced, his words are subordinated to Mr. Williams's report of Southern terror. It seems that the "crucifixion" of negroes is only newsworthy when it happe[ns] in the South. *Wed. 9-25-46*

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

RESPONSIBILITY OF THE NEGRO

Editor, The Advertiser: *Wed. 8-7-46*

There have been several letters appearing under your column, "Tell It To Grandma," concerning the Negro, mostly being a great encouragement to our race, and some the opposite. There are many ways in which the problem of the Negro (we) can be discussed, but I do not wish to lose any words so I will make this as brief as possible.

Our white friends have helped us in many ways and likewise scorned us for unworthy doings. But we know it is wrong to judge any race by the unpatriotic reactions of a few. Even in the comic strips this has been brought out (Orphan Annie in last week's edition). When our white friends react upon this cause, I know that they will say we are girding our belts in tremendous efforts toward helping the lower class of our people to be more intelligent.

Determination built this nation. We do not want hate, meanness and deception to destroy its foundation. We will keep moving in a forward direction for our improvement and edification. We cannot too strongly emphasize among (us) Negroes the value of training, self-preservation, self-respect, and respect for others and their possessions. Those among us who are trained for specific tasks are given to blame our failures on prejudice, rather than placing them at the door of our own inefficiencies, where they rightfully belong. Too often we sit inertly waiting for others to give us rights and recognition which progressive men and women everywhere acquire by struggle and sacrifice. I know when this article is read, my white friends will agree with me and remember our Lord said, "What you do unto the least of his people you do it unto him." Thanks, and may God bless everyone. LEON BEAUCHMAN.

35 O'Connell Street,

Montgomery, Ala.

White People are on Notice

The News and Courier Charleston S.C.

In the "keynote address" to a state conference of the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People in Columbia, South Carolina, last Monday, August 19, J. A. Simmons, former negro school principal in Columbia, "called for an end to race segregation. He said segregation always resulted in inequalities".

The saying should be of value to the white people. It is confirmatory of what The News and Courier has been telling them repeatedly. A national effort of negroes, assisted by "Liberal" white men of the North and the South too, to break down barriers between the races, to have mixed schools, mixed employment in cotton mills and other industries, is proceeding. *Fri. 23-46*

This effort is engineered with money, as well as with brains. The ultimate aim is amalgamation of the white and colored races in the United States, and the aim is now but thinly concealed.

The colored people in this movement and their white supporters are not content with the enjoyment of political rights guaranteed by the constitutions and the laws; they are pushing to be with the "white folks", and of them, in the hope that in four or five generations there will be no American negroes—or white folks.

Not all, not the majority, of the Southern negroes are enlisted in this movement. The majority of them will never enlist in it unless scalawags shall multiply. Some of the white people in the movement we would not designate by the epithet scalawag, but their exertions, however benevolently intended, aid and recruit the scalawags.

Not for the moment discussing the right or wrong of racial segregations and separations, we remark that they have characterized nations throughout recorded history. Moslems and Hindus, Arabs and Jews, Germans and German Jews have been and are living apart, working apart, and they scorn inter-marriage.

Without particular knowledge whereof we speak, we risk the guess that many an African tribe segregates itself from another. When the Africans were brought to North America as slaves, a large proportion of them were purchased from slave-masters and, presumably, there was separation between master and slave, though their skins were identical in color. in "Darkest Africa".

Anyway, white people would better keep their eyes and ears open.

No 'White Man's Standard'

Times Dispatch

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

Permit me to get that Beddow fellow upright before he falls off a cliff. There is no such animal as a white man's standard. There is an American standard as distinguished from, say, the Mongolian, and the Negro has contributed as much to the evolution of this American norm proportionately as the white man.

A laborer who digs a ditch and lays a sewer pipe for the public's health has contributed his share to the people's culture as surely as the professor of Greek philosophy. When one man's unskilled labor releases another man for skilled work, who in turn releases a third for the professions, they altogether form a pattern that is commonly called the American way, or standard. *Richmond, Va.*

The Negro can have his own standard in his own world but so long as he is a part of a mixed community he must perforce share in that community's standards. It is such men as Beddow laboring under an inferiority complex who set a "Negro standard." *11-7-46*

Thurs. WILLIAM HOSLEY.

Richmond.

Fascism Hits Louisiana

Black Dispatch

A man was beaten to death last week in Minden, Louisiana. He was a Negro. The coroner's report attributed his death to "multiple bruises and abrasions sustained at the hands of a person or persons unknown." The killing, murder, lynching or whatever you term it, followed the pattern set in the Monroe, Ga., mass lynchings. The victim had been charged with housebreaking and subsequently released. He denied the charges and no moral charge was made against him. Shortly after his release, as in the Monroe mass murders, he was set upon by a person or persons unknown and beaten to death. *Oklahoma City, Okla.*

Without a doubt, the pattern of Southern fascistic terror has hit Louisiana with the report of this latest violence against the Negro in the South. Heckled and goaded by the "white supremacy" twins, Bilbo and Talmadge, white Southerners now take the law into their own hands. Law and order do not seem to fit into their way of life. Hitler and the Nazis certainly must be proud of their American counterparts. Pogroms against Negroes in the South are quite similar to the Nazi pogroms against the Jews in Europe.

Sat 8-31-46

The sad part of the terroristic wave is that the good white people of the South and the law enforcement agencies, national and local, seem helpless to stop it. Some fine words, an indictment here and there in the recent wave of killings, lynchings and murders in Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina and Louisiana is the extent of the effort made to apprehend the criminals. No one has been punished and made to feel the weight of law and order. Respect for law and order is waning. There is no one that Negroes can look to honestly for protection in the South. If they can't protect themselves, they're just in hard luck.

In other words, our backs are to the walls—we have no one to depend upon for protection other than ourselves. If the pattern set against Hitler's hordes runs its true course, the Southern terrorists will find themselves confronted with an underground opposed to fascist principles just as the Germans did. There will be other nations who will aid the American underground just as we aided the underground fighting the Nazis. The United States will come to her destruction just as the Nazis came to theirs if the Southern fascist pattern continues to dominate and eventually gain control of this sweet land of liberty. Weak-kneed leaders and spineless law enforcement officials are slowly letting us drift into chaos.

It is no wonder Russia continues to rile Mr. Byrnes, our able Secretary of State from the state of South Carolina, where a veteran's eyes were gouged out by sadistic cops, where the politicians are trying to move heaven and earth to keep Negroes from exercising their constitutional right at the ballot box. We naturally wonder about a man's capabilities who comes from such a state.

Incidentally, Russia wonders the same thing in a recent article in Pravda titled, "Democracy in Byrnes Manner," said that Byrnes had tried to block discussion of the Italian issue by Russia and had backed down only on the insistence of Andrei Y. Vishinsky, Russian deputy foreign minister, who produced the minutes of the previous day's session to show Byrnes' attitude was unjustified. *Sat 8-31-46*

"The head of the American delegation imagined himself the master of the conference," the Pravda article said. "He thought he was allowed to do anything. Democracy by Byrnes—he started putting it into effect by violating the elementary rules for participants in the conference.

"Mr. Byrnes forgot that he was presiding at an international conference, not a meeting in the State Department on the affairs of Panama and Honduras, where he could remove his coat and put his feet on the table. He forgot that he was chairman of a conference attended by representatives of sovereign, independent powers and not the usual clients of the Anglo-American bloc. Byrnes understands the role of chairman as the role of some provincial prince."

With the critical situation at home and abroad, democracy, American style, must now realize it has to be practiced as well as preached, or else it will continue to lose face in the eyes of the world.—The Louisiana Weekly.

Our Native Land

Amsterdam News

Two men and two women were shot down in premeditated cold blood on the outskirts of the jerk-water village Monroe, Georgia. One man had cut another in a fight over his the Negro's wife, and had been bailed out on $600 bail. *New York, N.Y.*

But he was blasted to bits in a hail of lead.

His wife, his friend, and his wife were also murdered, just because they happened to be along.

And, of course, all were killed because they were Negroes.

In Butler, Georgia, a man was murdered in his castle, his home, because he dared to vote, a right he supposedly received after a bloody civil war, and for which thousands on thousands of American boys laid down their lives in foreign lands in two great world wars.

8-3-46 Saturday

This is our own, our native land.

But we have no truck with those who whimper and wish to run away. The apocalyptic super-revolutionaries who see no help but tear up everything in pursuit of some vague broad humanitarian idealism leave us chilly. The "special interest" crowd who hitch their pleas for "tolerance" (for white only) onto the tail of the Negro's blood , sweat, and tears fill us with disdain. This is no time for bleeding heart sympathy and moaning at the bar on "lo the poor Negro."

This is our native land, and we must fight to possess it; not selfishly, but with men of good will. Men of hate must know all Americans are raised with the vision of freedom.

The test of real Americanism is what persons, groups, or organizations are doing to purge out this awful sickness of jim-crow, anti-Negroism that tracks blood across our time.

This is the shibboleth of this day. Let all men, all issues, test themselves in the blood just shed on the soil of our native land—in Georgia.

Saturday 8-3-46

Racial Cracked-Pots

Last week the wife of a plush Long Island banker was brutally shot. His daughter was assaulted, raped and shot in the head by a vicious criminal who hadn't been caught by Friday.

This was a horrible crime of a blood-thirsty maniac.

What we want to talk about are some letters received on this atrocity. One went like this:

"My dear Editor:

"One of your race has again murdered and raped 2 white women at Flower Hill, L. I. Only this time, we the people of Long Island and Brooklyn propose to take the matter before Congress to have members of your race segregated for all time.

"This time we intend to fight you until you are all a slave race.

8-3-46 Saturday

"These crimes by your race run into the thousands yearly where Negroes prey upon innocent white (sic) women; never upon their own.

"We the wealthy folks of Suffolk County shall not tolerate another crime of this kind ever again in these United States.

Amsterdam News

"(Signed) WILLIAM SANDERS"

This is a tortured twisting of lies and racial canards. But his line of reasoning is especially cockeyed. By the same token the white race should have been done away with long ago. The most recent revolting crime by whites was the Central Park slaying of a soldier whose girl friend was raped. Nobody talked about anti-white "legislation" then. Such stupidity would have been and is now ridiculous. *New York, N.Y.*

This uninformed and dangerous "talk" can only make further trouble, and won't help the bereaved family.

U. S. Jim Crow bowls over visiting Brazilian official

The Tribune

Los Angeles, Calif.

NEW YORK—In this country to tour industrial plants with an eye to improving Brazilian industry, her most startling discovery has been the "race problem", Mrs. Elsa Soares Ribeiro, technical assistant to the director of the Brazilian Labor Dept., said here this week.

Now in New York studying the work of the New York labor department, under auspices of the U. S. Labor Dept.'s Inter-American problem, Mrs. Ribeiro said she was first surprised to note that although the nation's population was one-tenth Negro, she hardly ever saw a Negro in the many plants she visited. *Sat. 9-21-46*

Upon questioning plant managers, she said, she was told by some that if they hired Negroes, their other workers would quit. One manager of a large plant explained to her that Negroes were not interested in industry because they were an agricultural people.

Mrs. Ribeiro compared the discrimination to conditions in Brazil, where, although Negroes make up twice as large a proportion as here—one-fifth—they are integrated as equals. *9-21-46*

No job application blank in Brazil asks for one's race, the visitor said, and there are no segregated battalions in the Army, blond Germans, yellow Japanese, and black Negro Brazilians all being mixed, without thought of race.

THE HORIZON

Negroes Have Bold and Statesmanlike Role to Play in Removing Barriers

By P. L. PRATTIS

The Courier Pittsburgh Pa. Sat 7-20-46

ARE you prejudiced? You complain of the prejudice of the white man against you and the resultant unfairness and handicaps. But what about your prejudice, real prejudice, against white folk who have never done anything to you and might, in their hearts, be all right? Yes, I can understand how you might feel. You have been hurt so much with the daily pin-pricks of prejudice that you are in no mood to separate the good ones from the bad ones. You have a sort of brooding resentment against white because it is white. You don't want them near you. Talk about their not wanting you to marry their daughters. You don't want them to marry your daughters either, do you? They must prove themselves all along the line if you're going to accept them.

Mr. Prattis

But of course, you know that hate doesn't erase hate and that although it is just as natural for you to be prejudiced and mean as it is for some white people, you have the same moral responsibility to try to be unprejudiced and fair that the white man has. If it is wrong for him to be prejudiced, it is wrong for you also. And if you see him trying to win out over his prejudice, you should get in step and try to win over yours.

* * *

THESE THOUGHTS come to mind in connection with two news items about Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity. The first concerns Theta chapter in Chicago, which recently initiated Bernard Levin, a white American, as a member. The fraternity's constitution was changed at the last national meeting to open the doors to whites. The second item concerns the Pittsburgh chapters of Alpha Phi Alpha which, two weeks ago, presented a number of scholarships to Duquesne University and the University of Pittsburgh to be awarded without regard to race, creed or color.

These actions on the part of these fraternity chapters mark, I believe, an important step and advance in race relations, a distinct departure from the norm. It might surprise many white persons to learn this, that there is a settled aversion to admitting whites to any Negro organizations where they might have the advantage of intimate contact with Negroes and that some Negroes have had to smack themselves in the face very hard to see the wisdom of providing scholarships from which whites, too, might benefit.

* * *

IT HAS NOT been long since an exclusive Negro social club in Philadelphia rejected the application for membership of a white minister who had been one of the best friends of Negroes in that city. I can understand why my brothers rejected their white brother, but I cannot approve of the rejection. Even more recently, a Chinese American and human being applied for membership in Pittsburgh's most popular Negro social club. The Chinese was married to a Negro woman. His application was rejected also. Again, I can understand, but do not approve. Jesus, being white, could not have gotten into that Philadelphia club, and Confucius would have been stared at by the membership of the Pittsburgh club.

If barriers based on color are to be broken down in this country, I think Negroes must be as active in destroying those they have erected themselves as they are in attacking those erected against them. In fact, the chances are that they, by doing the right thing themselves, can do more than whites to set the right pattern.

* * *

DR. ARTHUR P. DAVIS has recently pertinently called attention to the fact that the so-called Negro colleges in the South have the opportunity ultimately to remove themselves from the category of segregated institutions simply by opening their doors to all Americans, white as well as black. They are private institutions and have the right to serve whom they please.

But many more steps like that taken by Alpha Phi Alpha will be necessary before the fact dawns upon Negroes that they have a bold and statesmanlike role to play in removing the barriers of color. The field is open for leadership of big heart and fine intelligence.

Catholic S[illegible] Think Race Inferior

The Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sat. 9-21-46

ST. LOUIS—(ANP)—White Catholic High School students in three large Southeastern cities believe Negroes are inferior. An expose of their anti-Negro sentiment was revealed recently in the October issue of The Negro, a monthly magazine published here, in an article written by James Morrison.

More than 75 per cent of the students believe in maintaining social barriers between whites and Negroes, racial segregation in housing, schools, restaurants, social affairs and public transportation, Morrison said.

WOULD DENY RIGHTS

Of the total, he found only 20 per cent who believed that Negroes should have equal rights with whites. Approximately 25 per cent claim they like individual Negroes, which supports a characteristic Southern attitude of liking Negroes individually rather than collectively.

"One fourth of the Catholic students held that the Negro should be denied the right to vote and almost 50 per cent said they would not vote for a Negro under any conditions, while 25 per cent revealed they would vote for a qualified Negro against a less qualified white," Morrison found.

Equality's the Word

New York, N.Y. PM

To the Editor:

We do not fight for tolerance, we fight for equality—equality in employment, equality in educational opportunity, equality in housing, equality to live as free men in a free country without Jim Crow laws, lynchings and bigotry.

New York *Tue.* JESSE ZEL LURIE *10-29-46*

This is the first suggestion of one word to replace the outworn "tolerance." Any other ideas.—ED.

Our Caste System

A White Private in The Army Knows What It's Like to Be a Negro

By HORACE R. CAYTON

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

The Courier Pittsburgh Pa. Sat 7-20-46

A WHITE veteran and I were talking about the officer caste controversy. I was particularly interested in his point of view because I had remembered that when he went into the Army he had made a firm resolve not to accept a commission, although he was an extraordinarily well educated man and had much administrative experience. Even at that time he didn't like officers and didn't want to be one.

I remembered, too, that on his first leave, he, his wife, and I had gone to one of Chicago's big hotels for dinner. He looked miserably unkempt in his wrinkled private's uniform and we had been joking about it. But when we got into the restaurant and tried to secure a table he was ignored by the head waiter and spoken to discourteously by some of the waiters. They just didn't want privates eating in their exclusive dining rooms.

Mr. Cayton

* * *

I REMEMBERED, too, that in righteous indignation I demanded service. After we'd sat down we had been amused because I, a Negro, had gotten angry because a white Southerner was being shoved around because he had on the uniform of a soldier of the United States. It seemed ironic to us then and even more so now that he has resumed his civilian position of considerable responsibility and prestige.

But just recently we were talking over this officer caste thing again and he said, "That's the first time I knew what it was to be a Negro. Because when you're in the Army officers and civilians treat you like you're someone that's contaminated, without intelligence, without rights—a person not capable of making decisions for himself and upon whom humiliations and injustices can be heaped."

* * *

HE THEN went on to relate some of his experiences abroad. When he got to Germany and saw signs which said, "No Jews or dogs allowed," he knew just how the Jews felt. They said it in the Army a little better—out of bounds—but it means the same thing. And he knew then how an educated and refined Jew felt when told by a swaggering Nazi, who had never contributed anything to Western European culture, that he and dogs weren't permitted to enter a park. And of course it also reminded him of the signs he'd seen in his own South, prohibiting Negroes and dogs.

"So," my friend continued, "for a long time I felt that the analogy between being a Negro and being a private in Uncle Sam's Army was a good one—that they were just about the same type of experience. I felt that way until I read an article in the Saturday Review of Literature and then I realized that nothing I had encountered in the Army was as bad as what Negroes have to go against: i. e., civilian Negroes—I'm not even speaking about Negro soldiers whose lot is much worse. The writer of this article, a newspaper man, summed up the difference. He related that a corporal had written to Yank, an Army newspaper, that he knew what it's like to be a Negro and that no one but an enlisted man could really understand it."

Then my friend quoted from the article:

"'He was wrong of course,' said the writer. 'He was using a comfortable cliche to half describe a feeling. To make the comparison apt, one would have to be born a private in an officer-dominated world, and there would be no promotions. And no separation centers and discharge papers. Never any discharge papers or little gilt buttons to be worn on the lapel. . . .'"

My friend and I agreed with the writer. The Army did have a vicious officer caste system, and did, in many instances, humiliate needlessly and pointlessly American enlisted men. But the whole thing lasted only three or four years, and everybody knew that they'd be out of it sooner or later. You're not a Negro for the duration and six months, and there's no one to turn in a resignation from second-class citizenship. It's just sort of permanent. I'm hoping that through some of these veterans' organizations people like my friend and the writer of this article can point out to the ordinary GI that what they felt as an enlisted man, the Negro feels constantly and continuously. Only then will white Americans get some notion of the tissue and texture of Negro life.

The Postwar Lynch Drive

The Worker

By Doxey A. Wilkerson

9-1-46

The Negro farm, industrial and domestic workers of America (and this includes almost the whole Negro people) are bearing the brunt of monopoly capital's post-war offensive against the working class. And the life-and-death struggles in which they are now engaged will prove decisive also for the freedom and security of the masses of white workers—indeed, of our entire country.

The growing campaign of lynch-terror against the Negro people, especially in the South, has its primary purpose to stop the forward movement of the Negro masses, to restore the pre-war status of Negro oppression and thus, to protect the vast profits which flow annually from the super-exploitation of millions of Negro workers.

This onslaught against the Negro people is also designed to maintain the excessively low wage scale of southern white workers, a wage scale possible only because of the still lower wages of Negro workers. It has the further purpose of weakening the organized labor movement as a whole; first, by preventing the organization of southern white and Negro workers into trade unions, and second, by creating a large reserve force of Negro labor as a constant threat to trade union wage standards and security.

The Bourbon rulers of the South and their Wall Street accomplices in the North are becoming alarmed lest their "cheap" southern white and Negro labor forces get out of hand. They see the Negro people fighting as never before for decent jobs and homes and schools, for destruction of the whole rotten system of Jimcrow oppression. They see hundreds of thousands of militant Negro veterans spearheading this struggle. They also see the powerful political upsurge of southern white and Negro voters, who are showing "dangerous" tendencies towards unity in support of progressive government. And worse still, they see the growing power of the labor movement, based chiefly on the industrial workers of the North, now moving to the organization of white and Negro workers in the South. *New York*

These gentry are understandably alarmed—and they are fighting back with all their power to stem the threat to their profits inherent in this strong forward movement of the people.

Herein lies the basic explanation of the mounting campaign of lynch-terror against the Negro people—a campaign directed no less against the southern white masses and the labor movement as a whole. Herein also we see the immediate tasks which this period of post-war reaction poses for the masses of American workers.

EDITORIALS

DO WE WANT "PREFERRED" SEGREGATION?

The Christian Index Jackson, Tenn.

SEGREGATION has long been one of the bitter fruits of ill relations between the races in America. It is a "social abscess" that denotes a deeper corruption is embedded within the hearts and minds of Americans in regards to the different racial groups in America. But America will always have unrest as long as it upholds the ideals of democracy and still attempts to practice discrimination and segregation of the races at the same time. The two opposites are incompatible.

Segregation is so deep seated and intrenched in the minds of most white Americans—and some Negroes too—that it cannot be easily uprooted by the mere passage of a law, or the pronouncement of the Supreme Court. There are many of the opinion that it must be removed by a gradual process of social elimination. *The Christian Index* presents to its readers for consideration a "new style" of segregation to supplant the present evil form of segregation. It is designated as PREFERRED SEGREGATION. Preferred segregation would provide the *best* for the group who is being segregated instead of the worst. It would be just the reverse of how segregation is now practiced. Thurs. 10-24-46

An example of preferred segregation is the practice of segregating Negro passengers in a Pullman car by giving them a drawing room when they purchase an open berth. Instead of being compelled to ride in the worst day coaches up near the engines, preferred segregation would require the best equipped coach placed near the rear of the train where there is more comfort and safety in riding. Instead of being forced to ride in the rear of buses over the bumpy wheels and hot engine, preferred segregation would require that choice seats up front be provided for segregation. Instead of being forced to live in the worst part of the community, segregated groups would be compelled to live in the very best sections of the city. Instead of lowest salaried teachers and worst equipped schools, in segregated communities the salaries would at least be equal and the schools better. And so on.

It is claimed that "preferred" segregation would eliminate much or most of the discomfort, unpleasantness, inconvenience and injustice which segregated groups now experience. It would be fairer treatment from the majority group and those who conscientiously believe that segregation is necessary in sections of the country. Giving the best to the segregated would be a price for compelling them to suffer the stigma of being separated or being discriminated against.

There may be some features in this form which would have some advantages over the present evil. Of course, it would be the accepting of a lesser evil rather than a solution of the situation. Try as we may, no form of segregation can ever be improvised that will be satisfactory. For segregation at its best is an insult. It is based upon a belief that one group would be superior to the other. Democracy's basic pattern is in the freedom of the individual to live and act as he desires so long as the rights and welfare of others are respected. Segregation denies individual freedom It forces or compels—it would not be democratic even if it compelled a group to accept the best!

It is contrary to human nature to give the best to those who are disliked or considered to be less worthy than our own group. Since there is no attempt whatever to give *"equal"* accommodations as required by segregation laws, it is hardly conceivable that requirements for better or best accommodations would receive any consideration If, however, preferred segregation could be substituted for the present form, the Negro might do well to welcome it for a change. Nothing except slavery could be worse than present forms of segregation. One thing we can be certain about—there will be no peace, no goodwill, no happiness, until all forms of segregation and its causes are removed from the American way of life.

REVEALING FIGURES

The Chronicle Detroit, Mich. Sat. 8-10-46

The National Opinion Research Center in Denver reported last week the results of a nation-wide poll on the question of the treatment of Negroes in the United States. A cross section of the white public revealed that 66 per cent thought Negroes got a "square deal." In the breakdown 76 per cent of Southern whites thought Negroes were treated fairly, while in the North 62 per cent took the same view. Of the Negro cross section, 28 per cent thought they were getting a square deal, while 66 per cent of them felt they were getting kicked around.

The most encouraging thing about the poll, however, was the revelation that 25 per cent of the whites in this country said that Negroes were not treated fairly. This is a small percentage, but when you consider the anti-Negro propaganda which whites are fed every day it could be a great deal worse. Of the whites interviewed, 9 per cent expressed no opinion on the subject and 6 per cent of the Negroes had nothing to say.

The most alarming thing is the fact that the great majority of whites are either ignorant of the facts of Negro life or they are convinced that Negroes need not be treated any better. This is a great challenge to Negro and liberal white leadership. The figure given for the satisfied Negroes, 28 per cent, may simply mean that there are still a lot of colored folks who are afraid to tell the "white folks" what they really think and feel. Since a great many insane asylums refuse Negroes you may find some loose nuts who will say that the practise of lynching is admirable.

The Psychology Of Prejudice

The Courier-Journal

DR. ELSE BRUNSWIK, a University of California psychologist who has just made a public opinion survey on racial prejudice, has arrived at some theories which may contribute toward the eventual cure of this disease. Louisville, Ky.

Prejudice toward racial minority groups, says Dr. BRUNSWIK, springs from defects which one attempts to conceal in himself. If an individual subconsciously nurses inclinations toward laziness, sex or uncleanliness which he is unwilling to admit even to himself, his tendency may be to attribute these qualities to people he considers more appropriate for them. The chances are he will select an economically and socially underprivileged minority for this guilt transfer, since it is easy to attribute a low behavior standard to those whose living standard is of necessity low. This, says Dr. BRUNSWIK, accounts for prejudices against Negroes and the Mexican laborers who exist on the tattered edges of California's wealth. Tues. 12-10-46

But there is another twist to prejudices against the Jews, Dr. BRUNSWIK maintains. It involves a desire on the part of the prejudiced individual for qualities he recognizes in the target group—aggressiveness, intelligence, thrift and the like. While Dr. BRUNSWIK did not point it out, this theory also would account for the widespread prejudice against Nisei farmers in California. Long before the war, the frugality and industry of this little group posed a threat to the security of Caucasian farmers and gardeners there.

While there is not much reason for hope that persons with well-developed prejudices would listen to this sort of explanation, there is a possibility that a wide understanding of the mental mechanics of race prejudice will inhibit its development.

McDonough, Ga., Advertiser
October 4, 1946

"AS WELL AS IN THE SOUTH"

Paul Robeson, Negro singer, says that he has "experienced great prejudice of the meanest kind on the West Coast, in the East, Middle West, as well as in the South."

The statement is undoubtedly true. It might be added that if an individual travels into Africa, India, China, or anywhere else in the world, he will find instances of "race prejudice of the meanest kind."

It is not the meanest examples of human conduct that should be used for the test of human beings. Likewise, in passing judgment upon a people of a section, isolated instances of meanness and deviltry should not be permitted to prevent one from formulating a balanced judgment of what goes on.

MORGAN BLAKE

Atlanta, Ga. Journal
November 4, 1946

Preachers of Race and Religious Hate

IN A RECENT column reference was made to some of the Hate propaganda of these well known Reverends—Gerald B. Winrod, Gerald L. K. Smith, and Harvey Springer. My attention was called to it by a letter from my friend Monroe Yarbrough, pastor of the First Methodist Church of Dublin, who referred specifically to a book "Persecuted Preachers" put out by the Winrod publications.

GERALD SMITH

Concerning that column I received the following letter from Mr. J. B. Miller, of Talbotton, Ga.:

Dear Mr. Blake,—

I just read your column in today's Journal. I would like to remind you that it is very easy to form a wrong opinion about that on which we are uninformed. I am a Methodist, but try to be fair in not judging anyone until the facts are known. I feel very sure, if you will subscribe and read the Defender and the Western Voice for one year you will not join in trying to smear and vilify such good men as Dr. Winrod and Harvey Springer. I don't know Gerald Smith, but if Dr. Winrod and Harvey Springer endorse him I am sure in my own mind he is a good man. When one is bold enough to condemn and expose sin in high places, off goes his head. That's what has happened to Dr. Bob Suler, Editor of the Methodist Challenge, published at Los Angeles. But like Paul, cutting his head off didn't kill him. If you care to inform yourself on what is wrong in the Methodist Church, and how many of her ministers are eating at the Methodist table, though they have long since departed from the main doctrine upon which she was founded by Mr. Wesley—namely sanctification as second work of grace following conversion, you can subscribe for Dr. Bob Suler's—The Methodist Challenge.

Yours truly,
J. B. MILLER.

Notorious Preachers of Hate

I may not be well informed on many subjects, but on the subject of the two Geralds — Winrod and Smith — I am thoroughly informed. I don't know whether they have received the second blessing of sanctification, but I do know they are both notorious preachers of race and religious hate. I do know that both of them did everything in their power to keep this country unprepared to wage a war for its very existence. I do know that both of them were valiant allies of the German Bund. I do know that Gerald Smith was one of the Huey Long racketeers who, when that dynasty crumbled in Louisiana, departed for more fertile fields. As for Harvey Springer, I know that he preaches the same sort of hate messages.

If Mr. Miller believes that such "hate your neighbor" preachments are correct presentations of the Christian faith, as promulgated by Jesus Christ, he is entitled to his opinion. But I must beg to disagree most emphatically. I will continue to follow the preaching of those ministers, of whatever denomination, who believe in the commandment of Jesus to "Love the Lord thy God with all thy mind, heart and strength and thy neighbor as thyself."

An Appeal That Will Bear Fruit

A very noble white woman who teaches Sunday School lessons to the colored children, patients at Grady Hospital, writes me:

"Would you mind calling attention in your column to the fact that the little colored children at Grady Memorial Hospital do not have any place they can have any recreation and it would be so nice if some one would give them a portable Victrola and some records. Also some new toys for Christmas. Some of the children are in bed most of the time. In the ward, there is an average of six children from 6 weeks to 2 years in age, 10 children 2 years to six years, and 20 children 6 years to 12 years.

"The Victrola, records and toys can be left with Miss Beales (Children Ward, colored). She has charge of the ward. If you could see how much they appreciate everything you do for them you would be glad to give them things."

I never made an appeal for charity in this column that did not have a most generous response. And I am sure it won't be long before the little patients at Grady have that victrola, records and toys for Christmas.

2,000 Toys for Germany

Horace Wood, president of the Atlanta Barbed Wire Club, tells me that some 2,000 toys have already been collected by the club to be sent to Maj. Bill Nichols, Atlanta soldier who wrote me sometime back asking aid so that he could play Santa Claus to the little German kids at Bad Neuheim, Germany.

The Barbed Wire Club responded to my appeal for a sponsor and these boys who were prisoners of war in enemy countries are certainly live wires. In addition to the toys they also have much clothing for the children.

The other morning Horace Wood went to the Kirkwood grammar school and spoke to the youngsters there. According to Miss Elizabeth Sylvia, principal, and Mrs. F. R. Knight, a member of the PTA, Horace made a big hit with the kids, and they have donated a large number of toys.

There is no doubt that through the leadership of the Barbed Wire Club and the generosity of Atlanta people, and the noble gestures of Bill Nichols, a large number of the little German children in that sector ~~are going to have a very Merry Christmas.~~

Advice For Colored People Given By Judge From Bench

Judge Tisdale J. Touart of inferior criminal court Tuesday gave some advice to colored people.

The judge's remarks were in the form of an answer to a letter from I. R. Rhone, publisher of a paper in Mobile for colored people. Rhone had stated in the letter to the judge:

"If you could only be a negro for 24 hours?"

Said the judge from the bench Tuesday:

"I believe that if I belonged to the colored race for 24 hours and could get the ears of my people, I would tell them this:

Stop Use As Pawn

"Stop being used as a pawn by people who have not your welfare at heart. Don't allow yourselves to be led by false leaders before profane altars and to adore false gods.

"Marriage vows are sacred. Stop bringing nameless children into the world. Learn to be decent.

"This so called equality you seek is very deep, but different than what you think it is. It is not in the flesh. There are several races of different colors—red, yellow, black as well as white—the same as there are different kinds of trees in the forest—big and little trees—and so in the ocean there are microscopic forms of fishes and whales.

Equality "In Spirit"

"Equality is an attribute of the spirit. It is found only in virtue and in perfection. Equality can be had in being right—in being good.

"The Holy Gospel tells us, 'Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His justice and these things shall be added unto you.'"

Rhone had been arraigned in inferior criminal court on a libel charge after he had written an editorial on a deceased colored man.

Judge Touart dismissed the charge after Rhone wrote a retraction of the editorial.

Tolerance

PM New York, N.Y.

To the Editor:

Tolerance has, as your correspondent indicates, negative rather than positive implications, and what is needed today is something more, certainly positive if not militant.

Nov. 11-4-46

It is indeed hard to find a substitute, such as *equality*, without introducing such an adjective as *racial* which again is inaccurate, especially as regards the Jewish minority. As a matter of fact, after reading Benedict and Weltfish, one hesitates to use the word *race* in any other sense than that of the one, *human race!*

It seems to me, however, that the word *equality* alone might be used, and that if it were so used by all the various organizations working for "tolerance," it would soon come to have the appropriate connotations. Words do accumulate new and even special meanings, as, for instance, in recent years, *appeasement*, *collaboration*, *resistance*, etc.

There is, of couse, the word *equity*, which might be qualified by the adjective *human*, but justice, like tolerance, has certain negative implications. So perhaps *equality* is the better word.

Santa Fe, N. M. HELEN CRAMP

• • •

No more synonym, of course, will do. Actually it is an entirely new concept for which you are trying to find an expression. As such, a completely new word must be devised.

I think the essence of that concept may be summed up thus: "To consider one one's equal." To express that idea in one word, you may say *equasider*, substituting *equa* for the prefix *con*. The noun, of course, would be *equasideration*, and all other forms would be derived from forms of the verb *consider*.

Providence ARTHUR BAUMANS

• • •

A one-word idea for *tolerance* is *fairness*. To amplify, could add phrase, "without personal or ulterior motive."

MEYER WISHNACK, M. D.
Paterson, N. J.

• • •

The Bible verse that deals with the mote and the beam in you and your brother's eye brings me to fabricate the new word *nomote*.

If one lives according to this verse he will have the greatest thing in the world "LOVE" or "CHARITY." If one is *nomote* himself and is *nomote* to his brother he will have this greatest treasure.

Menlo Park, Cal. A. C. BALL

• • •

I think the word for mutual understanding is best expressed by the psychological term *empathy*—meaning the projection of one's self into personality of another. It carries no tinge of condescension.

New York REBECCA ETTENBERG

• • •

May I suggest the following four-word slogan: To Live, Let Live.

A NEW ENGLANDER

• • •

What word more humbly describes the feeling we are all trying to express than *brotherhood?*

New York JERRY SCHNITZER

Trinidad Citizens Protest Wave Of U.S. Terror

Vigorous protests against violence and injustice to Negroes in the U. S. were sent to President Truman, the CIO, and the NAACP last week, by Negro residents of Trinidad, Port of Spain.

The protest, in the form of a resolution adopted by the Negro Welfare, Cultural and Social Association of Trinidad, stated that the group "views with contempt the wave of Nazi-like terror doled out to Negroes and other minorities, as a violation of their civil rights." Such treatment, the resolution stated, "lays bare the four freedoms so loudly proclaimed by Churchill and Roosevelt."

"We vigorously protest the cold-blooded, wholesale, murderous atrocities, and violation of civil rights committed by Jim Crow state troops and police against the citizens of Columbia, Tenn.," the resolution continued.

The strongly worded protest condemned the killing of the two Ferguson brothers by a Long Island policeman last January, as part of a deliberate reign of terror. "We view these actions as similar to those committed by Hitler's Gestapo, and though the world fought to be free, abuses and injustices still continue, and are giving birth to the same child," it stated.

Ending in an appeal for justice, the petition from the predominantly Negro island said, "Be it resolved that together with all other working class parties, trade unions, church organizations, and civil rights associations, we urge you, in the name of 5,450 Negro inhabitants of Trinidad and Tobago, to use your high office to bring all those who are responsible to justice."

GEORGIA EDITORS SAY:

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

DESTROYING PREJUDICES

(Rossville Open Gate)

Before we can have security abroad, we must see to it that all Americans are secure in their own homes. Before we can have a successful United Nations, we must first have a successfully united nation.

Nov. 12-9-46

Prejudices among men must be destroyed, and by following the simple procedure of neighborliness this can be accomplished.

Be a good neighbor. As such, you'll help your friends recognize and rid themselves of poisonous and divisive ideas. By knowing people, by learning to respect them for the men and women they are, you'll remove much of the misunderstanding, envy and unreasoning hatreds that mark the ignorant bigot.

Prejudice, for the most part, begins in the child's mind, so keeping your youngster's mind free from prejudice will go a long way toward building tolerance.

49 1946 General

S. I. Hayakawa

Second Thoughts

The Defender

Where Are the Negroes? Chicago, Ill.

"NO MATTER how great our education, no matter how dignified our professional standing, the majority of white people regard us as belonging inevitably to the menial classes and occupations. It makes me sick." Thus goes the complaint of thousands and thousands of Chicago Negroes daily. Sat, 10-12-46 May I timidly confess that I'm getting a little tired of hearing this complaint?

The other night I went to a performance of the ballet at which were present thousands of Chicagoans and hundreds of out-of-towners who had made a special trip into town for the show. The ballet is one of the big artistic events of the Chicago season, and most Chicagoans of at least moderate cultural attainments look forward to it as children do to Christmas.

In spite of the fact that Negroes constitute one-tenth of the population of Chicago, I doubt if more than one person in a thousand in that vast ballet audience was Negro. In spite of the cultural pretensions and the expensive clothes of the dicty set, they just simply weren't there.

Self-Imposed Segregation

NOW, AS everybody knows, when Negroes go to the theater in Chicago, they don't have to sit segregated up in any peanut gallery. They are welcome to the best seats in the house. Chicago audiences, especially at operas, symphony concerts, ballets, and other such entertainments of high cultural value, are, according to my observations, usually delighted to find in their midst equally cultivated people of other races and colors. It makes them feel that Chicago is a pretty cosmopolitan town, and that its cultural life is also pleasantly cosmopolitan.

But, welcome as they are in the cultural life of Chicago, only the tiniest fraction of Chicago Negroes takes part in it. When you read the society pages of the Chicago **Defender**, you get some notion of the degree to which even well-educated Negroes insist on segregating themselves in their social life.

The "Snappyettes" hold a fashion tea at the Pershing; the "Beau Brummels" have a breakfast reception at the 'Boogie; the South Michigan Avenue Literary Circle meets at Mrs. Randall's to hear Mrs. Jones review "Black Metropolis"; the Ebenezer Baptist Church holds a reception for a visiting Negro choir from Cleveland. Never do we read in the social pages an account of one of these social organizations winding up at the opera, the ballet, the Art Institute, or a concert, EXCEPT when some Negro artist like Marian Anderson is the attraction.

The Importance of Being Seen

WHEN MARIAN Anderson hits town, however, there is adequate Negro representation in our downtown concert halls. And white people look around and say, "Look at all the Negroes here!" This is unfortunate, because the sudden appearance of a large number of Negroes only serves to underline the racial identity of the performer. White people in the audience are forcibly reminded that Marian Anderson is not simply a great singer, but a Negro singer. And isn't this constant underlining of race just what we're trying to get away from?

To go back to this matter of Negroes being regarded as menials and flunkies—isn't it inevitable if our educated Negroes are not seen at the opera, at the ballet, at symphony concerts, and other places where educated people are always seen? When one person in ten at a performance of the Chicago Symphony is a Negro, white people who ask, "Can Negroes ever be educated?" will disappear.

Unprejudiced Called Key to Fight on Bias

PM New York, N.Y.

The best way for Americans to tackle race discrimination is to let the bigots stew in their own juice while the unprejudiced are won over, Margaret Halsey told the Centennial Institute for Human Relations Friday night at Broadway Tabernacle. Sun. 11-24-46

Other speakers criticized organized religion's record on race discrimination, saying that the churches must make brotherly love and the brotherhood of man mean something but empty phrases.

Miss Halsey, the author of *Color Blind* and *Some of My Best Friends*, said the bigots "make so much noise that it's always assumed they are the principal stumbling blocks to a more mature democracy."

"It is always assumed," she said, "that the chief thing needed to improve race relations is, by some sort of magical brain surgery, to make bigots tolerant. But that is doing it the hard way. From a practical point of view the first people to work with are not the prejudiced people but the unprejudiced ones. The first point of attack is to supply people of good will with techniques whereby they can get to know Negroes with whom they have interests in common. What we need now in the field of race relations is not miracles but new techniques—not surgery, but ingenuity."

The institute was conducted as part of the hundredth anniversary celebration of the American Missionary Assn., which helped found a number of Negro schools and colleges and now is working with sharecroppers and conducting race relations surveys in San Francisco, Pittsburgh and Minneapolis.

Other speakers were Dr. Ashley Montague, anthropologist and professor of anatomy at Hahnemann Medical College, Philadelphia; Dr. Ruth Benedict, Columbia University, professor of anthropology; and Dr. Smiley Blanton, psychiatrist and director of the Marble Collegiate Church consultation clinic.

Dr. Benedict said that racial prejudice in this country stems from unwillingness to let "all able peoples build themselves up" and that "a sensible nation would offer all opportunities to all who would make use of those opportunities."

Declaring that the scientific concept of "race" has lost all meaning in the popular usage of the word, Dr. Benedict said that "the ablest one-third of all persons in the world would include peoples of all races."

Supporting this, Dr. Montague said that all scientific tests fail to show any "significant differences in the potentialities of mind between any of the groups of mankind."

Reviewing the history of the AMA, which is an affiliate of the Congregational Christian Churches, Dr. Fred Brownlees, its general secretary, said that in its first century the AMA "led the way in the cause of emancipation and, later, free public education for colored people."

Taking up the theme that churches must lead in combatting race discrimination, Galen Weaver, director of the church-race committee of the Congregational Churches, said that "the church, which is one of the most segregated of our major institutions, must become inclusive."

"But," he warned, "individual churches will hardly make that leap overnight. We will have to become skilful social engineers, educators in the best modern sense, if the transition is to be made without serious defections on the part of thousands of people whose emotional set we want to change and whose support we must gain."

WHAT THE NEGRO WANTS

Editor, The Advertiser: The Advertiser

Various articles have been and are being written in regard to the Negro in a changing South. I have read your editorials with helpful interest and a different point of view, in many instances, from those given by the writers.

It is my opinion that the Negro has been in many cases misrepresented. First of all the Negro wants what any other American citizen wants; economic security and an equal opportunity to participate in civic rights, only because he is an American citizen and wants an opportunity to contribute and share his portion in a Democratic country, State and Government; he wants an equal opportunity to educate his children, viz, better trained teachers, equal pay for equal training, equal transportation and school facilities; better home and community improvements as well as public accommodations. Montgomery, Ala.

It is too often said that the Negro wants social equality. Social equality is not his worry. When he is recognized as an American citizen and all barriers are broken without fear of injustice, but justice for all, then and only then, shall come an America and a South for all, and the Negro will have and make his rightful social economic adjustment as an American citizen just as he made his adjustment as an American soldier in two world wars. America and the South shall prosper in proportion as they learn and give due consideration and recognition to all of its citizens, regardless of race, creed or color. Sun. 12-22-46

J. M. CHEATHAM.
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

Supremacy Must Prove Itself

The News and Courier

It is well for The News and Courier to remind again and occasionally that it does not like the phrase "white supremacy" and does not employ it. "Supremacy" is a matter of merit. It is not wise to assume that any individual, group or race has a monopoly of it. As for the white people and the negroes in the South, they should have fair and equal chances to go forward in separation. The News and Courier is opposed to any steps leading toward the amalgamation of the races. It takes for granted that neither race desires to absorb the other and assumes that both will be content to live separately as long as both shall be treated justly. Negroes having common sense will not wish to send their children to white schools if the negro schools shall not be inferior to those for white children. Wed. 12-25-46 Charleston, S.C.

Wheels of Hate

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Editor Constitution: I have read with interest Harold Martin's article in The Constitution Nov. 21, 1946, under the heading, "If You Believe Say You Believe." This is, indeed, a great problem in our America today. Mr. Martin was right in spite of the intelligent, the well dressed, and well-mannered Negro boys and girls, the odds are against them. I can't quite fathom our democratic way of life. Sat. 12-7-46

Doubtless every member of that glee club that Mr. Martin heard sing "Zekiel's Wheel" knows that the odds are against him even now at such tender age. They know that every door of opportunity is closed in their faces. Many of them will go down in despair and, on the other hand, many of them, like their parents who bore their burdens in the heat of the day, and who sang those old songs in their own broken language with a feeling that came out of agony, torture and suffering and with a tune no one else could duplicate.

These will go on singing "Zekiel's Wheel" in spite of the wheels of hate, prejudice and greed and intolerance. They know that the big wheel which runs by faith and the little wheel which runs by the grace of God will win the battle some day. Thanks, Mr. Martin, for such fine article.

JOHN HENRY EDWARDS.
Atlanta.

Spokesman

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: I have read Mr. Martin's column, "If You Believe, Say You Believe." I want you to know that it is a wonderful piece and I can't help but think that one of our local ministers should have written it. He was surely speaking for our inarticulate men of God. Atlanta, Ga.

Several weeks ago in the chemical plant where I am employed I had an occasion to write quickly in the presence of one of the darkie laborers. "Boss, that's wonderful, wish I could do that." I was ashamed for I had failed him.

The Georgia section of the American Chemical Society meets monthly at Georgia Tech for a dinner and lecture. The members from the local colored colleges used to attend the lectures, quietly entering after we had eaten. I have not seen them in attendance for some time. This shames me too. Sat. 11-30-46

What can I do to help these good people who differ only from us in that they are black? I studied biological chemistry for many years and never did determine how to

differentiate between white blood and black blood.

My wife and I are helping a Dutch family now and would be glad to help a Negro family.

During the war the Episcopal Churches of Atlanta had a joint meeting at the Auditorium. Bishop John Moore Walker said that if there was the slightest suggestion of segregation the meeting would not be held. The meeting was one of the most inspirational I have ever attended. Wonder if our church could open its doors to the colored people.

Can you be the leader for us who believe?

ROBERT W. SOUTH.

You Said It

The Afro American

Sometimes I wonder what would happen were Christ to revisit the world today, perhaps send His Son to us under the same conditions.

Undoubtedly generous-hearted Americans would endeavor, first of all, to raise a fund for His destitute family. But the fund would encounter opposition from Bilboites, the Rankinites and the followers of the late Gene Talmadge; first because the new-born Babe was a Jew, also because one of the wise men who came to His crib was colored. — DREW PEARSON in the Washington Merry-Go-Round. Baltimore, Md 1-4-47

ROGERS SAYS:

Records Show That Race Prejudice Under Hitler Was Mean to an End, Not Religion

The Courier 49

By J. A. ROGERS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 12-14-46

THE long suppressed report of the Senate War Investigating Committee tells of wild doings by American troops in Germany—of looting German homes, black market white slavery, graft, theft of Army property by high-ranking white officers, etc., etc. However, what seemed worst to the investigators was what is described as "flagrant miscegenation," by Negro troops. Here, in this last, we have history repeating itself. After the last war there was such a terrific noise about African troops on the Rhine and their affairs with German women that it blotted out for many news of the Versailles Peace Conference. One American woman, wife of Congressman Britten, got tremendous publicity with her propaganda against it in the United States. E. D. Morel called it "The Horor on the Rhine," and Lothrop Stoddard, race-monger, went to town on it. A book, titled 'Rheinische Frauenlinga" was published on alleged cases and translated into English, French, Spanish, Italian, etc.

Mr. Rogers

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SOME OF THE rape cases were undoubtedly true but only those involving Negroes were singled out. Nothing was said of rape by white troops. However, the truth came out later. It was revealed that the German women were doing far more running at the Negro troops than from them. Maximilian Harden, greatest German journalist of the times, declared that certain German women even before the war were eager to mix with black men and used to pester those who came with circuses, etc. Lilli Jannasch, another writer, said that many white women "found something alluring in entering into close relations with the blacks." General Henry T. Allen in his report to the Secretary of State in Washington, said that "troops had to be stationed about the barracks to keep German women "from pestering and pursuing the colored troops" and prevent their entering the barracks through the window. He also said that some of the Negro soldiers had complained about the women, and so far as miscegenation was concerned, neither the French nor the Germans were worried about it. "The color line," he said, "is not regarded either by the French or the Germans as we regard it in America, to keep the white race pure." I have a lot on this subject, together with sources, in Volumn One of my "Sex and Race," for those interested.

Now as regards this "flagrant miscegenation," you might ask why there is no complaint of it in Japan where white soldiers are mating with Japanese women, pictures of which appear in the press and newsreels. Or why is there none in the case of white troops on the Canal Zone, in Jamaica and Trinidad, where the women are colored and much of it goes on. Or in Egypt and North and West Africa when white Americans were there. Remember, also, that Negro troops are in Japan and are also going with Japanese women but still no cry about miscegenation. Likewise in Italy one hears little complaint about the mating of Italian women and Negro soldiers.

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Hitler was far less prejudiced against Negroes than the average white American. I gave in The Courier some years ago the story of how he entertained an unmixed Negro, an American student, in his hotel at Heidelberg and later invited this Negro to his Brown House at Munich. He also had some twenty African Negroes teaching African languages in his universities, hoping that some day he would dominate on that continent. I know also a Negro woman living in Newark, N. J., daughter of Bishop Gardiner of Liberia, and whose husband was the Liberian consul-general at Hamburg. She showed me photographs of herself taken at Hitler's receptions and said that she was entertained by Goering's wife and taken by her to the opera, sitting in the same box.

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AN AMERICAN NEGRO, Mr. Welch, who lived some thirty years in Germany and whom I met in Munich in 1928 and is now in the United States, tells me he experienced no color prejudice in Germany, not even during this last war. I know Germany pretty well and can say that I know of no people who have, or had, less color prejudice.

Hitler, as I said, used race as politics. His attack on Negroes in "Mein Kamp" was largely political, too. It was directed chiefly at France with her Negro troops and at Poincare who spoke of one hundred million Frenchmen, in which he included France's sixty million African subjects. Had Hitler come to power, and it suited him, he would have thrown "race" overboard, precisely as he did for a time with communism. After ranting against the Communists, he wooed them and made a pact with them in 1939.

The American brand of the master race doctrine, being a religion deeply ingrained into the American soul after three centuries of law and customs, is more dangerous for the future peace of the worlld than the Hitler brand. More than two-thirds of the people of the world are colored and America with her race propaganda is isolating herself. Americans carry this poison wherever they go. One would have thought that it would have been the English who were most concerned about the Negro soldier and the Englishwomen. No, it was the Americans.

Race was a boomerang for Hitler. America had better watch her step. Russia, who opposes race discrimination, is winning more and more, the darker races.

Defeated Germany Pokes Fun At America's "Sick" Democracy

The "Afro-American" Baltimore, Md.

Sat 11-30-46

By CHAPLAIN DOUGLASS HALL

BERLIN—Democracy needs the colored man.

The peoples of the world are willing to accept the American way of life only when Americans prove that what they are preaching is real—that it is not just "a flash in the pan" to lure them on to a new destruction.

Most peoples of Europe are hungry, poorly housed, and face a cold, hard winter. But that is not enough to make them sincerely accept anybody that comes along proclaiming that "my way is the only way." They have been fooled too much, too long.

They are looking for a way of life that will insure them peace —and the basic necessities of livelihood. Daily they see and hear ways of life proclaimed to them, shouted from street corners, glared from printed pages, sung in music, and even prayers and sermons of respective countries proclaim their way of life.

Action for Proof

There's a better chance today to sell democracy to the world, but it cannot be done with words alone. There must be action—and proof that democracy is the thing that will help the world end many of its ills. To prove this, America needs the colored man.

For all the world is looking upon America's treatment of colored persons as a proof as to just how far Americans are willing to trust their democracy.

American democracy will become a profitable export commodity only when there is concrete proof that it is big and strong and broad enough to cross and crush the color line.

One thing that the American colored soldier has done—he has made the world realize that he is real. That he can take it.

That he is a real-right guy because he has been willing to sell to many other peoples of the world a democracy that has in many cases, even in Europe, been denied him.

Lynchings and Patriots

An English friend of mine told me a few weeks ago after reading the account of the lynchings in Georgia, that he could not understand how colored persons in America could stand such things and still say such nice things about their country.

That same view was aired by a German PW, who was captured as he distributed propaganda back of the lines of the 92nd Infantry Division. 11-30-46

"It is a mystery to me that you are so true to a country that is so mean to you." He despaired of the fact that in all their efforts they had been unable to get a single man to give in and come over to them.

Italians and Germans will tell you that they have been told that colored persons were not as good as other Americans.

But the soldiers have lived unfair propaganda down. He has proved that his blood runs just as red, his heart beats as many times per minute, that he lives as freely and die as bravely. And that he has the biggest heart in the world. He will share his bottom biscuit with anyone in need.

I have seen them bringing in wounded, captured enemies who would kill them at the bat of an eye. Yet they shared their rations with them.

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I have seen them stop along the roadside and give away their entire da's rations to a group of kids.

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Background experiences have taught the soldier what it means to be cold and hungry. His heart goes out in kindness to those in need. And his kind and human acts have spread over Europe faster than the bad things that have been said about him.

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Six kids had learned to play baseball from several members of a trucking company that is stationed here. Those kinds proclaimed that there was absolutely no difference.

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ATTORNEY GENERAL CLARK ATTACKS KU KLUX KLAN ON NEW YORK TRIBUNE FORUM

The Black Dispatch
Oklahoma City, Okla.

Discusses Isaac Woodard, Columbia Trials, And Other Current Outbursts of Intolerance

SAYS TRUMAN STUDYING PROBLEM

Sat. 11-9-46

NEW YORK, Nov. 6 — (NNPA) — That part of the text of Attorney General Tom C. Clarfi's speech (delivered at The New York Herald Tribune Forum October 28), in which he discussed equal justice and disclosed that he had directed the presentation to a federal grand jury of evidence concerning the lynching of two men and their wives near Monroe, Georgia, July 25, follows:

"It was only two years ago that the Supreme Court held that all qualified citizens of the United States, regardless of race or color, had a federal right to vote in a primary election where the primary election process was an integral part of the state's machinery of choice for the selection of the successful candidate.

"The Court said they had such right to vote and to have their vote counted as cast.

"Negroes have been voting in primaries in certain sections of the south, and other sections were added this year.

'The ideal of justice for all will not be a living reality so long as the spirit of hate, hypocrisy, intolerance and fear—abiding in the hearts of some Americans—remains.

"Breeders, spreaders and carriers of hate, whether racial or religious, are un-American and strike at the very heart of the American way of life.

"Organizations and groups, such as the Ku Klux Klan, deliver a grievous blow to democracy.

"Their program resembles that of totalitarism for they build their platform on the exploitation of ignorance.

"In the South, they fan the flames of white supremacy,—in the North, they broadcast the seeds of intolerance and bigotry—while in the West, they talk of America for the native born.

"The enemies of freedom all use the same techniques in their program of destruction.

"They put group against group—race against race—faith against faith—and set up a credo of brutality.

"We must not use their methods in our fight for justice for all.

"We must use the American techniques of due process of law.

"All races and all colors make up America.

"All races, all colors, all faiths have helped to make the name of this Nation a synonym for liberty to all peoples in the world.

"We are concerned today with Justices for all from the standpoint of minorities.

"We Americans have an abhorrence at a lynching, at racial violence at the misuse or abuse of authority.

"Puddin McFadden was a 60-year-old colored farmer down in Florida.

"One night the Town Marshall, a man named Crews, and some of his friends went out for an automobile ride.

"Said Crews, 'I think I'll get Puddin tonight if he is on the streets.'

"He was on the streets and some two hours later was forced by Crews into the car and driven to the Swanee River made famous by Stephen Foster.

"After beating him with a whip, Puddin was forced over the bridge into the swirling water below.

"Some days later, Puddin's body was found.

"Today, Crews stands convicted by a federal court.

"He received the maximum sentence.

"A victory for Justice For All.

"Isaac Woodard, Jr., a colored soldier, was discharged from the United States Army at Batesburg, South Carolina, after forty months' service.

"He had served over a year in the South Pacific.

"Isaac started to his home here in New York.

"He was on a bus.

"There is some question as to who started an altercation in the bus but there is no question that today Isaac is blind.

"It is alleged he was beaten with a blackjack in the hands of a local officer.

"Today, that officer stands charged, on my direction with a violation of federal law.

"A federal judge and jury will hear the facts and determine his guilt or innocence.

"We shall prosecute vigorously.

"John Jones and Albert Harris, Jr., young colored boys, were placed in jail a few weeks ago down in Louisiana.

Several days later the Sheriff told the youths they could go home.

"Those were happy tidings—until Jones and Harris walked out into the jail yard.

"There waiting for them was an armed mob.

"Whisked to a secluded spot, the mob used whip and club unmercifully.

"Jones' lifeless body was found the next day but Harris, left for dead, escaped.

"He is safe today—far away from Louisiana.

"I ordered an immediate investigation.

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People assisted us magnificently.

"Twelve days ago a federal grand jury in Louisiana indicted two deputy sheriffs, a police officer and others for this heninous crime.

"A federal judge and jury will pass on these facts and determine guilt or innocence. We shall prosecute vigorously.

"Several months ago there was a most serious racial disturbance at Columbia, Tennessee.

"I immediately directed an investigation and later a grand jury presentation.

"In a personal appeal, I publicly invited all persons having information to forward it to me or to the grand jury.

"Every phase of the matter was heard.

"Three-hundred ninety witnesses were sworn and examined over a period of several weeks.

"The grand jury found no evidence on which to base an indictment.

"Tonight I again say if any person has evidence indentifying anyone engaged in this vicious vandalism, I welcome it and will personally see that it is presented to a grand jury.

"Last July a frightful murder of four colored citizens of Georgia shocked the nation.

"President Truman personally directed the Federal Bureau of Investigation to enter the case.

"Over 2500 witnesses have been interrogated.

"The President often inquires of our progress.

"Today—and I reveal it for the first time tonight—I have directed that the entire matter be presented to a federal grand jury.

"I am hopeful it will be able to put the finger on those dastardly conspirators who committed this brutal crime.

"It is true the jurisdiction of the federal government depends upon a thin thread of law.

"I am sorry to say there is no field of law in which the federal government is expected to do so much with so little.

"The federal statutes give me the power to prosecute only when a person has been deprived of a federally secured right.

"The right of life, liberty and property, the Supreme Court of the United States has repeatedly held, is not a federally secured right.

"Despite these legal handicaps, there have been 109 separate investigations involving civil liberties since I become your Attorney General 16 months ago.

"Twenty-three cases have been prosecuted—an average of one each three weeks.

"Six cases, involving ten defendants, have resulted in convictions—8 in acquittals and 9 stand ready for trial.

"I have burdened you with these details in a few cases because I cannot help bringing home the horror that results when mob violence takes over, when lynch law replaces due process and when irresponsible persons set themselves up as the judge, the jury, the prosecutor, and the executioner.

"This wanton disregard of orderly procedure militates against the priceless heritage bequeathed us by the men who founded this nation.

"The way of justice is that of equality for all.

"We must base our thinking upon the writing or statements of agitators.

'Under the cloak of an attempt to secure civil liberties, they would take true civil liberty from us.

"There are those who say I should devote more time to acting and less to 'legalities'—unless there is an unwillingness to act.

"Those that say that, know these is a genuine desire to act, but I shall not be bull-dozed into acting extra-legal.

"That is the fascist way, the communistic way.

"It is, indeed, a pathetic thing for Americans to have their Americanism unrecognized.

"In a great many instances this is so.

"We condemn those who bring it about.

"The average colored citizen of America is a good citizen and deserves better treatment in the hands of a democracy, but communism is not the answer and communistic leadership will not cure it.

"The average colored citizen is too intelligent and too good an American to follow the leadership of those who pay lip service to democracy but would bring the slavery, the purges, the atheisms of communism upon our people.

"The average colored citizen is proud of his Americanism and I say to you, that there are no better Americans and few who have contributed as much to the up-building of this country of ours.

"I believe that the real soul of justice for all in America is the exercise of local responsibility by each community in every state.

"The intent of the Bill of Rights was to protect life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness through local self government and the administration of Justice.

"In the event of a breakdown of such community responsibility, then, the federal government **should exercise such rights as the Congress sees fit to bestow upon it to protect the life and liberty of its citizens.**

"Your President, Harry S. Truman, is giving his special attention to the problem.

"In his usual forthnight way, he hopes to translate our ideals into living realities.

"In this he has our prayers."

The Black Dispatch

THE RIGHTS OF NEGROES

The News Birmingham, Ala. Tues 10-22-46

To the Editor of The News:

In these times when so much is being said in the papers and over the radio which creates a bad feeling between the races, I should like to say a word in behalf of our colored friends and neighbors.

1. No man should call himself a Christian and hold membership in a church and at the same time harbor ill will and malice in his heart against anybody regardless of race. Certainly no such person should be given a place of leadership in the church.

2. The colored people are not here by their own choosing. Greedy men went across the seas, broke up families by taking husbands away from their wives and children away from their parents, brought them to this country by force and sold them into slavery. That is how they happened to be here. The South paid dearly for this crime against humanity. We paid with thousands of lives in the Civil War and during the reconstruction period following the war.

God's chosen people, the Jews, spent 400 years in slavery in Egypt. But when they were freed from Egyptian bondage they were given a land that flowed with milk and honey. They had good homes. They had vineyards and olive groves everywhere. The harvest was exceeding great and it was a land of plenty. Not so with the Negroes. When Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation the Negroes were turned outdoors. They had no claim on the cabins where they lived. They had no land. They had no stock to cultivate the land when rented. They did not have a cow to give milk for their children. They had no tools to farm with. They were homeless, helpless, friendless. Starting with absolutely nothing in the world, the Negro has built a great civilization and has written a great page in American history. Think of him then and think of him now. Today he has schools and colleges. He owns land and property and many of them are large taxpayers. Many of them are doctors, dentists, teachers, scientists, and many of them are great preachers.

There are those who seem to think we could get along without these colored friends. Let us suppose a case for a moment. It is this: Suppose all of them would decide to

quit working for the whites, all on the same day. No cook in the kitchen. No maid to clean the house. No nurse for the children. No yardman or chauffeur to drive the car. No washerwoman to laundry the clothing for the family. Southern aristocrats, who have been accustomed to having servants do all the work while they loaf, would certainly be upset doing all the housework. In a little while there would be a change in sentiment among our people. Really there is no good reason why the colored people should slave for the whites until the colored people are given their constitutional rights.

If I know the divine plan for the peoples of this earth, it is that the strong shall help the weak. It is that a superior race shall help an inferior race to a higher plane of living.

Judgment Day is coming and in that day many who have been first will be last and the last will be first. The person who exalts himself and lords it over helpless people will have to take a place at the foot of the class. The final word will be, "As ye did unto the least of these ye did it unto Me."

517 North 22nd Street. J. L. ADERS.

RADIO COMMENTATOR HIT AS RANKIN-SMITH FRIEND

Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 9-14-46

Upton Close, the radio pundit, who feeds his audience Bilboism in more digestible forms, was ripped by the clergy and the veteran last week as a bedfellow of Gerald L. K. Smith and John Rankin and for "utter intellectual dishonesty."

Bishop Bernard J. Sheil, last week made a caustic and scathing reply to the commentator's charge that the bishop was a forerunner for "Communism." In his broadcast Aug. 27 over the Mutual Network, Close said that Sheil's liberalism unrolls "the red carpet in our United States for smirking Communists to stride to power upon."

Gilbert Harrison, vice president of the American Veterans' Committee, denounced Close's charge as a "contemptible lie," upon learning that the commentator accused the AVC convention in Des Moines of coming within "seventeen votes passing a resolution acclaiming Communism as the highest form of democracy." Close later retracted this charge.

James Gannon, New York membership director of AVC, said that the real reason for the Close attack was that at the AVC convention Bishop Sheil supported the FEPC and health insurance.

". . . to be smeared by Close," he added, "is to be decorated with a badge of honor."

White Girl Halts "Mob Terrorists" At Grand Central

Amsterdam News New York, N.Y. Sat. 8-31-46

How a discarded copy of last week's city edition of The Amsterdam News brought about a near-riot led by Dixie crackers in New York's Grand Central station last Friday, was told by Amsterdam News booster, L. F. Coles.

According to Mr. Coles, when things were about to get out of hand, as the crackers inveighed against Negroes and the Amsterdam News and its headline, "Negro Leads Own Mob In Dixie," a beautiful, young white girl, whose identity was not disclosed, mounted a station bench and upheld the side of the Negro against Southern mob rule and lynch law.

It all happened, Mr. Coles said, as a result of someone, either by mistake or by deliberate action, leaving a copy of The Amsterdam News with the glaring headline telling its own story to all on-lookers. Some obvious Southern crackers saw the headline and immediately began to declaim against Negroes, demanding that all Negroes in the North should be wiped out because they were beside themselves; that the Negro newspapers had lied about conditions in the South, and that they were going to take conditions in their own hands.

Quick and courageous action by the white girl not only silenced the irate Southerners, but drew a crowd of about 250 ardent listeners, all of whom remained spellbound until the crowd was dispersed by the police. The youthful orator and defender of the Negro refused to give her name, declaring that she was an "American who wanted to see justice done to everybody." But not even the interruption of the police silenced her until she had faced the lanky crackers with the truth that the conditions exposed **by The Amsterdam News were true, and that it was time that Negroes went into action and did something in their own defense.**

It's Not the Color, Son

Whatever became of "Prince" Antonio Apache, society playboy, who was wined and dined by the Astors, Drexels, Goulds and others until it was discovered that he was the son of Mrs. Russell Sage's cook?

Born Tony Simpson in Louisiana, this man who palmed himself off as a grandson of Indian Chief Cochise, was described by one society writer back in 1907 as "a full-blooded Indian who has the manners of a Chesterfield, the education of a Gladstone and the beauty of a graven image," until exposed by two white artists for whom he posed. *The Afro-American*

According to legend, he was even consulted on Indian affairs by no less a personage than the late President Teddy Roosevelt.

As long as the social arbiters believed him to be an Indian, Simpson (or Apache) flew high, wide and handsome, but when it was found that there was colored blood in his veins, he was dropped like the proverbial hot potato. *Sat. 9-21-46*

Oddly enough, top-drawer society is still being bamboozled today as it was four or five decades ago, which proves that all of this talk about color is just so much hogwash. *Baltimore, Md.*

The Lord's Intentions

The Times-Dispatch Thurs. 10-31-46

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

I have just finished reading Mrs. Ruth Webster's letter. What a beautiful piece of logic! It is always refreshing to come across people who have the inside track and know exactly what the Lord had in mind. *Richmond, Va.*

So God intended to keep the races apart by placing them in different areas, eh? Dear Mrs. Webster, aren't you guilty of sacrilege by usurping the area which God reserved for the red man?

Richmond. S. H. RELGIS.

Malodorous

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Editor Constitution: I feel that manhandling and murdering of Negro vets, whose tracks are still warm in foxholes in foreign soil, should be curbed at once.

These men have had neither the time nor, in some instances, the intelligence to affect a compromise which lends itself to Southern tradition.

Let's not kill them all off. The wind still brings odors from the window of Stalin's militaristic kitchen.

Atlanta. W. L. DAWSON. *Tues. 10-29-46*

One dead, several beaten in outcrops of racial violence

Tribune Los Angeles, Calif. Sat. 10-12-46

The TRIBUNE's weekly inventory on violence against the U. S. Negro found one dead and several the victims of beatings in cities and towns across the nation.

Dead was war veteran John Ollie Jones, 25 (not to be confused with war veteran John C. Jones, recent victim of a mutilation lynching in Minden, La.), who was fatally shot in Canton, Miss., by S. P. Davis, white candy store proprietor, who accuses Jones of having been drunk and cursing in his daughter's presence. Davis is being held in Madison county jail.

Closer to home was the alleged attacks by about 30 white soldiers and sailors on two San Diego war veterans, Fred and Theotis Jackson, brothers, on the San Diego-Coronado ferry. Fred Jackson has reported that he was beaten up by the mob before shore patrolmen arrived on the scene and turned him and his brother over to Coronado police, who in turn gave them up to the "protective custody" of San Diego police. In San Diego, the two were booked for disorderly conduct and released on $25 bond each. *Tribune*

New Orleans NAACP, always a source of violent reports, reported the case of Henry Johnson, war veteran, who escaped a near lynching in his hometown, Gloster, Miss. Johnson allegedly went home on furlough in June from Ft. Dix, N. J., and was erroneously charged with the rape of a white girl. A mob picked him up, turned him over to the sheriff; he was tried and sentenced to jail. Rescued by a police detail from Camp Shelby, Miss., after 15 days in prison, Johnson went back to Ft. Dix, and was discharged in July. When he returned home, his mother warned him that the mob was still waiting for him, so he went to New Orleans, where police, claiming to be FBI agents, arrested him as an Army deserter. While NAACP was working to free him, he was suddenly released and is now reported to have gone north.

Los Angeles, Calif.

Unconfirmed reports on the police beating of a woman member of the "Wings Over Jordan" choir came from Memphis, Tenn. Miss Hazel Morris was reportedly beaten by police following investigation of a stolen watch at the Memphis YWCA. Officials of the choir, which is to sing in the Los Angeles area within the next few weeks, have refused to comment. *Sat. 10-12-46*

In Chicago, a white mob reportedly stoned the home of Lt. and Mrs. Rice Carruthers, white, because a friend, Lt. Everett Batcher, Negro, had been a guest in their Auburn park home. The mob allegedly instigated by the Carruthers' landlady and the Auburn park "improvement" association, threw bricks through the couple's windows after Batcher left. A police cordon was thrown around the home after the incident.

In Florence, S. C., sheriff Dan Clarke, of Florence county, retracted the charge that Charles Green, white, of Lynchburg, had been injured by shots from a train carrying 500 Negro soldiers. Clarke said Sumter officials boarded the train and failed to find any weapons. A smashed window on the train indicated that the train had been fired on, but no one was injured, he said. Green, wounded by buckshot, is confined in a Florence hospital.

In Atlanta, Ga., Miss Bertha Row, of Chicago, charged she was beaten by a white soldier aboard a bus at the Atlanta bus depot, arrested for disorderly conduct, and forced to spend a night in the Atlanta police station. Miss Row said she was visiting southern relatives en route to New York to continue music studies. A white soldier sat in front of her on the bus, she said, and his seat was broken so that it pinned her to her seat. When she asked him to fix it, he became angry, hit her in the eye and threatened her with a knife, she said, and when police came, white passengers lied about the cause of the incident. NAACP Atlanta effected her release, but she had to go to New York by train because the bus dispatcher recognized her and warned all drivers not to let her ride.

In Dayton, O., Charles Romine, 23, charged that two Dayton policemen beat him with a blackjack, a flashlight, and kicked him, for an hour, then left him unconscious in a vacant lot. The only reason the pair gave, Romine said, was that they had received several complaints about Negroes and intended to "break it" once and for all by teaching him a lesson.

Story of the Week

Afro-American

I am indebted to The Messenger, a Jehovah's Witnesses publication, for the following story which you may take or leave:

A Catholic priest got on a downtown bus, taking the first empty seat. (In front of him was one of Jehovah's Witnesses.)

When he looked around, he discovered that he was seated beside a colored man. He immediately got up and took the seat with the J.W. *Baltimore, Md.*

The J.W., when he saw who was seated with him, immediately got up and sat down with the colored man. *Sat. 9-21-46*

All the bus snickered.

The Long, Hard Road

Times-Dispatch

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

After reading various discussions on the discrimination against and separation of the Negro, I wish to say that some of the expressions have infuriated me, especially the letter brought forth by L. H. Beddow, titled "Copying the White Man." *Richmond, Va.*

I ask Mr. Beddow, what is the white man "putting down" that the Negro can successfully "pick up?" What are his standards that so impress the Negro race? *Sat. 11-2-46*

I think it is absurd and behind the times to say that the Negro puts on a pair of spats and sports a cane to copy the white man. I haven't seen anyone wearing spats in years.

As long as the Negro is in filthy overalls and working in a field, the white man thinks that's where he belongs. But the Negro has come a long way in his struggle and it has not been an easy route. Neither has he attained his success on any standard set up by the white man. Bear in mind that he is not going to let prejudice and bigotry keep him from his goal.

There are instances which I could cite which would show the Negro has surpassed in skill and originality. Remember Dr. George Carver? Give the Negro credit for what he has done and a chance to prove that he can and does live up to the ideals of loyalty and Christianity towards his fellow man. Does the white man live up to those standards, Mr. Beddow?

Richmond. MARY THOMAS.

HAROLD MARTIN

The Constitution

If You Believe, Say You Believe

Atlanta, Ga. Thurs. 11-21-46

The Boys' Glee Club sang "Zekiel Saw De Wheel." The words said:

"Zekiel saw de wheel, way up in the middle of the air. Zekiel saw he wheel, way in the middle of the air, The big wheel runs by faith, and the little wheel runs by the grace of God. Wheel in a wheel, way up in the middle of the air."

Then the principal of the school handed out the scholarship certificates. To Barnes, June and Borders, Juel, and Gary, Willie, and 20-odd others, he gave awards for making no mark lower than "A" throughout their elementary-junior high school career, and to Adkins, Thomas, and Alexander, Nora and Brown, Annie, and more than 200 others, who made no mark lower than "B", he gave certificates.

They were clean, neatly-dressed, well-mannered children. They were obviously intelligent, as their school marks indicated.

Yet there is not much opportunity ahead of them. Not much chance for them to use their good manners, and their ambition, and their intelligence. They should become—and with opportunity they might become—doctors and lawyers and teachers. Their race needs desperately the services of their own professional men.

Victims Yet most of them probably will never have the chance to use their full talent, their full intelligence, their full ambition. The wheels they cannot see—the wheels that run, not by the grace of God, nor by faith, but in the minds of men—will carry them along their road. They are the wheels powered by prejudice and oiled by hatred. They are the wheels that spin in the minds of the Kluxers and the Columbians.

The man who might have been a great doctor, an honor to his race and to all men, may see that talent for healing die in a yard-man's job, a laborer's job, a chauffeur's job. The girl who might have become a great teacher, a great singer, a nurse whose genius could benefit her people immeasurably, may find the only door open to her the one that leads to a cook's job, a maid's job, a waitress' job. There is honor in such work, as there is in every honest labor. But there is no joy and satisfaction in it, when the one who labors knows that he might have been, given a chance, so much more.

Out of this dissatisfaction stems the Negro's resentment against his lot, and the tide of his anger is rising. Some day the black man's anger and the white man's prejudice will bring on troubles far greater than any we have known so far.

Responsibility If the really troubled time ever comes, the fault will not lie alone with the Kluxers and the Columbians who fanned the flames. It will lie with those of us who did nothing and said nothing to help put out the fire. There are a great many good and solid folk in this town who are the friends of the Negro because their spirit is the basic Christian spirit of compassion, tolerance and good will.

It would help a lot if they would say publicly what they privately believe, instead of permitting the Negro to find his vocal champions among the crackpots and the Communists.

It would require no startling profession of faith. It would require only that it be said that the Negro is a citizen of the United States. As such he is entitled to the equal protection of its laws. He is entitled to the opportunity to be educated to the limit of his capabilities, and once trained he is entitled to the opportunity to put his training to use. He is entitled to security in his property and in his person.

Act Now! If the folk who feel that way would back up their beliefs to see that they come to pass, the hate groups, driving us fast toward bitter racial strife, would see that mass opinion was against them. Now they are under the delusion that their only opposition comes from the newspapers; from a few leaders like Ellis Arnall; from a few church groups.

If those who believe those things would say them, and practice them, the Negro could take heart. He could see some hope for the future of his race. And with hope would come a subsiding of his anger. Things could be worked out in a spirit of good will.

And the hate organizations could howl their heads off in a vacuum, abhorred by the white people, ignored by the Negro.

Excellent

The Constitution Mon. 12-

Editor Constitution: I think you might enjoy a recent experience I had after reading Harold Martin's article, "If You Believe It, Say Yes" (the one published Nov. 21). I said, "Well, this is an excellent thing Mr. Martin has written and I do most heartily agree with him, but somehow I feel like Elijah did after he had gone through a wonderful miracle—proving by fire Jehovah as the true God. He became very much discouraged and said to God: "Lord, no one is left but me to serve the true God; everyone else has bowed the knee to Baal, so now I am ready to die too." However, the Lord did not feel quite so discouraged about it, but instead said there were 7,000 who had not bowed to Baal and for Elijah to get up and go to work. I, too, said, "Lord, no one thinks this way but Harold Martin and myself so we might as well die too. All other good folks have gone on." Then the Lord, through the Pulse of the Public said, "Get up and go to work! Lots of right-thinking people left right here in Atlanta. The message brought a most heartening response from so many people who believe that "all men are created equal in God's sight." Atlanta, Ga.

Much success to Harold Martin.
MRS. C. M. VALENTINE

Commendation

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: Please let me add my words of commendation to those you have already received in connection with Harold Martin's recent editorial on the racial question. Atlanta, Ga.

I was especially glad to see a reprint of this message, for I feel that every person—white or Negro—should read it, not once, but many times. Mon. 12-9-46

Personally, I would like to tell you that I enjoy all Mr. Martin's writings—some more than others, but I think that The Constitution is to be congratulated on having a member of their editorial staff who expressed so clearly what so many people feel, but hesitate to say.

CECIL FISHER KATZ.
MRS. S. D. KATZ, Supt.,
BWMU, Atlanta Association.

For A' That

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: Allow me to congratulate Harold Martin on his very splendid article in today's Constitution. Atlanta, Ga.

If more thinking people will raise their voices in protest over the mistreatment of certain human beings, maybe Hitlerism, the Columbians, Klans, Lewisism, etc., can be crushed from the earth.

Such stuff was what made Hitler and ruined the country he tried to "save for super-men." There are no super-men. Bobbie Burns had it right—"A man's a man, for a' that." Sun. 12-1-46

JULIAN M. FRIX.
LaGrange.

Needs Saying

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Editor Constitution: I was out of the city when Harold Martin's column entitled "If You Believe, Say You Believe" was published. It has come to my attention.

I wish to thank you most sincerely for the column and for the fine spirit in which it was written, as well as for the things which it says at such a very critical and needy time. Tues.

RUFUS E. CLEMENT,
Pres., Atlanta Univ.
Atlanta. 12-10-46

A Resolution

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Editor Constitution: Whereas, race tension is high, feeling keen, ideas and ideals are in desperate conflict as to the Negro's status, place and rights; and Tues. 12-10-46

Whereas, the Harold Martin article appearing in The Atlanta Constitution Nov. 21 does set forth the rights, desires and contentions of the Atlanta Negroes, in particular, and Negroes throughout the Southland, generally;

Be it resolved that we, the Atlanta Baptist Ministers Union, go on record thanking Mr. Martin for his fine article in our behalf, and that we concur with the sentiment of said article and give it our full endorsement.

Be it further resolved that we ask all other unions, leagues, clubs and civic-minded organizations to give public expression to the Harold Martin sentiment as an appeal to public opinion and make it more certain that things may be worked out in the spirit of good will.

The resolution thanks those persons who already have written in to commend the article.

F. M. HUTCHINSON,
B. J. JOHNSON,
L. M. TERRILL,
A. BELL
R. N. MARTIN,
S. RANDOLPH,
C. N. ELLIS,
J. T. DORSEY, Pres.
Atlanta.

Gratifying

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: It was very gratifying to read your recent article, "If You Believe Say You Believe," that was so timely. The responses were wonderful.

As a life-long resident of College Park, Ga., I would like for the public everywhere to know that there is a fine spirit of race relations existing here. There are those white people in our town who "Do Believe," and are doing all in their power to help the Negro use the wheels of progress that were mentioned advantageously. Atlanta, Ga.

Bouquets could be given individuals, including preachers, teachers, clubwomen, nurses, businessmen and the like, but worthy of mentioning most of all is the constructive conscientious work of the Council of Church Women. Under their intelligent, influential, Christian leadership much has been done for the moral, spiritual and educational uplift of the Negro residents of our town. Thurs.

These are times when we should let them know we appreciate the worthwhile things they are doing for us. This we do most sincerely.

EVA LOUISE THOMAS,
President College Park Civic and Educational Club. 12-19-46
College Park.

Thanks

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: A few days ago I read with considerable interest and pleasure Harold Martin's column under the title "If You Believe, Say You Believe," which appeared in The Atlanta Constitution on Nov. 1, 1946. Wed. 12-18-46

In this community, where we have been working diligently for several years to improve the status of the Negro, and to promote better understanding of racial groups, we appreciate that courageous announcement. It is my hope that the article will be read widely and that you will continue to do your bit in this area of human relations.

CHARLES G. GOMILLION,
Dean, School of Education.
Tuskegee, Ala. Atlanta, Ga.

Fine Editorial

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Editor Constitution: I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate Harold Martin upon his very fine editorial appearing in The Constitution for Thursday, Nov. 21, 1946, entitled "If You Believe, Say You Believe." Tues. 11-26-46

I would like to get his permission to use this editorial in a copy of the Herald, the Official Organ of the Georgia Teachers and Educational Association.

AARON BROWN, Pres.,
Ga. Teachers and Educ.
Association.
Albany.

Deep Gratitude

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: We, Prin. C. L. Gideons, more than 3,000 pupils, and 70 teachers of Howard School, after reading Harold Martin's article, "If You Believe, Say You Believe," appearing in The Atlanta Constitution on Nov. 21st, referring to our program at Howard School, are forced to write and express our deep gratitude. Atlanta, Ga.

His article was inspiring, encouraging and hopeful. We have been strengthened in our knowledge of, and our faith in, the fact that there are many good and solid folk in our town who are friends of the Negro. We believe with Mr. Martin that many of the problems existing between the two races will be solved when more persons with such convictions have become vocal. For surely, with as many churches as our fair city boasts and with as many persons whose names are inscribed on church membership rolls the Christian spirit of brotherhood must pervade many personalities. The one thing needed is that more and more who believe will say it and do all they can about it. Wed. 11-27-46

LILLIAN B. GARNETT,
Teacher, Howard School,
Atlanta.

Our Own Problem

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: I am waiting for my plane for New York and just have time to say how very much I enjoy Harold Martin's column. I have left instructions with my family to mail a clipping of it every day while I am gone. The one recently in regard to the Negro subject, "If You Believe, Say You Believe," was excellent and very timely. I hope it was read by every Southerner. There are many who feel that our progress, material and spiritual, hinges upon our spirit of tolerance and justice. I feel so sure we in the South can work out the problem, and I find more and more thinking persons who are giving the subject deep consideration. Frankly, I feel the greatest hindrance is the well-meaning but ignorant propaganda from the Northern press and viewpoint. I say "ignorant" in the sense that they cannot possibly understand all the ramifications and deep-rooted prejudices that must first be brought into the light of public opinion and eradicated. We need more Ellis Arnalls, Ralph McGills and Harold Martins.

Straying from the subject: this morning's account of Captain Midnight brought a chuckle, for the Beers menage has long been in the tyranny of cats. Atlanta, Ga.

MRS. FREDERIC L. BEERS.
College Park. Tues. 11-26-46

Heartened

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: I was indeed heartened to read Harold Martin's recent article, "If You Believe, Say You Believe," after the thoroughly disturbing recent news stories about the racial situation in our part of the country. The Atlanta Council of Church Women is one group which has done its utmost to help break

down these tensions that have been built up. As a member of that group I would like to commend you for the splendid stand you have taken. Atlanta, Ga.
Tues. 11-26-46 JULIA S. SMITH
Atlanta.

New Courage

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: Many of us who "believe" will take new courage to "say we believe" on the strength of Harold Martin's excellent column of Nov. 21. He has placed the responsibility where it rightfully belongs. If those of us who profess a faith in a God who is the Father of all mankind and a belief in the principles of Christian democracy fail to become an articulate force for justice and decency in behalf of every race, color and creed, we will be as guilty in the inevitable catastrophe as the sensational groups whose hatred and prejudice know no such paralyzing timidity.

We of the South are slow to outgrow the culture pattern of past generations which still confines many in a racial shell. But the will for tolerance and understanding and fair treatment is growing. Just such sane and sound statements as Mr. Martin's column expressed furnish a stimulus to unite the voices of decent people into a positive, intelligent public opinion. We need to be roused from our social and religious apathy. Atlanta, Ga.

ELIZABETH H. GARRISON,
Vice Pres., Woman's Society of Christian Service, St. Mark Church. Tues. 11-26-46
Atlanta.

Christian Duty

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: Referring to Harold Martin's column, "If You Believe, Say You Believe," in Thursday's Constitution, his views on this question of the rights of our great minority group here in Georgia, and our duties as Christian citizens are indeed praiseworthy, and I wish to commend him on his most splendid editorial.

If ever there is serious racial trouble here it will be the fault of our Christian friends who do not have the courage to stand up for the rights of the underdog.

I believe every truly Christian woman feels that the Negro should have equal educational and economic advantages. Atlanta, Ga.

MRS. A. V. KOEBLEY,
Member of Atlanta Council of Church Women, Tues. 11-26-46
Decatur, Ga.

"Say We Believe!"

Editor Constitution: Harold Martin's editorial "If You Believe," in the Constitution on Nov. 21, merits commendation from every reader and especially from us Christians, who "say we believe." The Constitution

Too long, the good Christian people of our City and State have given consent to injustice and intolerance through their silence. The time for expression in mood, thought and deed is at hand.

Editorials like Mr. Martin's make us think and act. There are no problems or difficult situations in any community that cannot be solved by fair-minded, right thinking Christian people who have the courage and vision to work effectively through united efforts.

Continue the fine editorials and more power to you. Atlanta, Ga.

MRS. CARL SCHANCHE,
Sec. Ga. Council of Church Women. Tues. 11-26-46
Atlanta.

Plea to Business

Editor Constitution: Harold Martin's column, "If You Believe, Say You Believe," is a real contribution to better race relations for it is of great value to those who are really contributing, in a tangible way, to the economic development of Atlanta and the South.

The Constitution

Believe it or not, if the Kluxers and the Columbians are permitted to proceed with their promotion of hate and intolerance, making life and property unsafe for Negroes, Jews and other majority groups, then we most certainly are going to lose to the North, East and West a large percentage of not only our best labor, but thousands of others capable of making a real contribution to the economic development of our Southland. No group will remain in a section where life, liberty and happiness are circumscribed and threatened. Atlanta, Ga.

The election of Talmadge to office followed by the lynchings at Monroe, the killing of Negroes by posses here and there without a trial, the failure of the Police Department to protect life and property here in the State Capital of Georgia and a general upsurge of hate and intolerance has already speeded up the exodus of Negroes from Georgia. Fri. 11-29-46

Negroes generally believe that life and property are not safe even in Atlanta and that the advent of Talmadge means mob violence and disrespect for law and order and as a result there is general restlessness.

If men who believe in Christianity and Democracy fail to speak out and defend it now, it will be too late after our best labor has departed.

The white church and our truly great newspapers have spoken out and have taken a stand on the side of law and order. The thing that is needed now, most of all, is that the presidents and heads of big businesses here in Georgia should come out into the open and let the public know where they stand. Some people say that the real trouble is in high places; that they back with their money the outlaws. If the heads of great corporations like the Georgia Power Company, Atlanta banks, and Coca-Cola Company, whose support comes in a large way from a million or more Negroes, would let the world know that they believe in law and order, then do something about it, the battle would be won.

If the heads of big businesses stand aside as they are doing and allow the Columbians and mobsters to run away a large percentage of our best labor, then big businesses in other sections of our country will profit by our loss. The heads of big businesses in this State owe it to the corporations that they represent to do all in their power to protect all classes of its patrons and labor. The interest of one is the interest of all. If the rich and powerful by their silence, indifference and fear, encourage and permit the laws of our State to be administered by gangsters, Klans and Columbians, then it is just a matter of time before they will take over the Georgia Power and other big businesses.

The heads of big business should remember that after all is said and done, the real jack pot, the great wealth, is held and controlled by them and not the Negro. A man or a group who will destroy the life and property of the poorest of our population has little to gain from them. What are a few blocks of old houses? The ultimate goal, the real jack pot, may not be the Negro, but the big corporations.

E. M. MARTIN,
Secretary, Atlanta Life Insurance Company.
Atlanta.

Deep Gratitude

Editor Constitution: We, Prin. C. L. Gideons, more than 3,000 pupils, and 70 teachers of Howard School, after reading Harold Martin's article, "If You Believe, Say You Believe," appearing in The Atlanta Constitution on Nov. 21st, referring to our program at Howard School, are forced to write and express our deep gratitude. The Constitution

His article was inspiring, encouraging and hopeful. We have been strengthened in our knowledge of, and our faith in, the fact that there are many good and solid folk in our town who are friends of the Negro. We believe with Mr. Martin that many of the problems existing between the two races will be solved when more persons with such convictions have become vocal. For surely, with as many churches as our fair city boasts and with as many persons whose names are inscribed on church membership rolls the Christian spirit of brotherhood must pervade many personalities. The one thing needed is that more and more who believe will say it and do all they can about it. Atlanta, Ga.

LILLIAN B. GARNETT,
Teacher, Howard School,
Atlanta. Wed. 11-27-46

Convictions

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: Just to say thank you for Harold Martin's splendid column, "If You Believe, Say You Believe." I am sure it expresses the convictions of a great many people as it does my own. Atlanta, Ga.

MRS. HERBERT B. DAVIS,
Treasurer, Atlanta Council of Church Women. Thurs. 11-28-46
Atlanta.

Back Seat

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: While sitting in the library this morning, I happened to see Harold Martin's article, "If You Believe, Say You Believe," which appeared in The Atlanta Constitution on Nov. 21, 1946. I suppose you say I should have been studying my lessons, but I just had to take a few moments and browse through The Constitution. Suddenly I spied the article and read it with enthusiasm. Atlanta, Ga.

It gives a person such a nice lift to read something so inspiring as was Mr. Martin's column this morning. Statements that he made were so true and, above all, understandable by any sane-thinking human being. 'Tis true that the Negro has his drawbacks, but so is it true of all races of mankind. Thurs. 11-28-46

With regards to what you said about having equal rights, I had to think no further than myself. However, this doesn't mean that I have given up hope. I am sure the millions of Negroes who make up a portion of the American population will one day prove that a back seat on the trolley car or an innocent victim hanging from a limb is not their token of defeat.

Again I want to thank you for Mr. Martin's splendid and timely article, and may he live to write others just as good and better.

LEONARD SUMMERS.
Morris Brown College,
Atlanta.

Come Again

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: I want to take time out to commend Harold Martin on the article last week, "If You Believe, Say You Believe."

You are right—so few take a stand for the Negro, but there are a few of us who do, and such articles like the one he wrote gives courage and encouragement when we see a newspaperman take such a stand. I have had several to call my attention to the article.

Thanks a lot, and come again with some more like this one.

Thurs. 11-28-46 MRS. F. P. DRAKE.
Atlanta. Atlanta, Ga.

American Column

Editor Constitution: Please accept this expression of thanks for Harold Martin's most timely editorial, "If You Believe, Say You Believe," which appeared on Thursday, Nov. 21, in The Atlanta Constitution. Indeed, I believe this particular editorial expresses the true sentiments of every real American who puts the welfare of his country above his own individual prejudices. The Constitution

Atlanta, Ga. P. E. JOHNSON.
Atlanta. Thurs. 11-28-46

49 1946

General

DIXIE HATE BARES ITS TEETH

8-6-46

Byrd –

You black son of a bitch – just keep on talking and you will bring this thing to a head sooner the better

What happened in Georgia was fine and should happen all over this country, and the whites that met with you niggers are no better than you.

More power to the Klan –

W. W. Carpenter

Chicago, Ill. Sat. 8-31-46

In language of the gutter and with the fury of a mob, the letter, of which a photostat is shown here, was sent to Daniel E. Byrd, executive secretary of the New Orleans NAACP, after he spoke at a meeting to protest the quadruple lynching at Monroe, Ga. The letter, signed by W. W. Carpenter, and postmarked Columbia, S.C., has been turned over to postal inspectors. Byrd, also investigating the recent torture-lynching of Veteran John C. Jones at Minden, La., to date has courageously refused to leave the South, despite threats.

Defendants

U. S., Britain Ignore Racial Crimes, But

Nuernberg Trials Mold Pattern Of 'Collective Guilt' Principle

The Courier Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 10-19-46

By ROI OTTLEY, Foreign Correspondent

The Nurenberg trials have established a fundamental principle in the world—the "concept of collective guilt." That is to say, that a nation is responsible for the acts of the individuals of that nation, especially their leaders.

To put this in American terms—the Nurenberg trials mean that today the North is responsible for the lynchings in the South. Moreover, it means that no white person in America can reject responsibility for Tennessee or Georgia.

Many white Americans in the North, and even in the South, are shocked when the details of Southern treatment of the Negro is revealed to them. So too, were many Germans amazed and shocked when German witnesses told of an SS request for a high allotment of uniform material, such as the gold teeth of concentration camp victims and the clothes of those executed in the gas chambers.

NORTHERNS SHOCKED

White people living in New York have told me that they were shocked, for example, that there was jim-crow in the South. Perhaps, some were lying. But the statement did indicate a wish to believed that these things did not happened, and, more important that they were not responsible for conditions of the South.

The Germans were loath to admit there were discriminations against Jews and atrocities against them as well. And to be sure, no German wanted to admit personal responsibility. With the notable exception of Goering, not one of the defendants in the Nuernberg trial admitted personal responsibity for the acts they admitted had taken place. They pushed the responsibility upon Himmler or Hitler. Thereby, they tried to absolve themselves.

I remember visiting the Dachau Concentration Camp, outside Munich. I spent some days interviewing and talking with people within a stone's throw of the camp. Nearly everyone I talked with said they did not know what was going on in the camp, even though the odor of burning flesh could be smelled a mile away.

When I finally pinnned them down they conceded that atrocities did happen at Dachau Concentration Camp, but they explained that these were not the acts of "good Grmans." They said that only criminals and Communists were the men in charge at the concentration camp, and it is they who should be judged for the atrocities.

White Americans, both abroad and in the United States, seem shocked that the Germans do not want to accept the principle of collective guilt. To be sure, there even still remains a large body of Germans who have withdrawn into themselves and ignore the acts of the Nazis as their responsibility.

Today, however, the Allies are pounding into German heads the fact that they are responsible. But it must be noted that the creation of the concept of collective guilt, is a Russian contribution essentially to the trials. Before the Nuernberg affair, there existed no law to try war criminals upon. The Russians introduced one, called "Crimes Against Humanity."

The principle that moral standards apply to public as well as private life has been brought forward dramatically at Nuernberg. The Allies believe that this thought will permeate the thought processes of the German people.

SHOULD APPLY IN U. S.

The Nuernberg trials should have tremendous meaning to Negroes in the U. S. because the establishment of the principle of collective guilt, can now be applied to the American scene. The President of the United States cannot take a hands-off position in crimes against innocent minorties. Nor can public officials. The principle indeed extends to each white person in the U. S.

There was one great loophole in the Nuernberg trial:

The tribunal refused to decide that crimes against humanity, event the whole panorama of atrocities committeed by Nazis, were punishable except in connection with aggressive war.

This means that the German Nazis cannot be tried for the atrocities against Jews before the war! The reasons that the U. S. and England took this position is obvious. (The Russians were opposed.) But U. S. and England could be themselves held accountable for their treatment of blacks throughout the world.

U. S., BRITAIN GUILTY

If the concept had held to crimes before aggressive war, then England could have been put on the block for her treatment of the Africans, Indians and Chinese the U. S. would then be forced to answer for her acts against South Americans, Negroes, Jews and Orientals.

The judges were too wise to condemn their own nations by implications, even indeed if it meant allowing thousands of Nazis to escape punishment for their treatment of Poles and Jews before the war.

There is indeed great hypocrisy in the Nuernberg trials. The judgements must necessarily bring suspicion to the world.

Not Prejudice

The News and Courier

To The News and Courier:

There is a lot of talk about race discrimination and the like going on in our country today. I do not feel that the American people as a whole are prejudiced against any people regardless of their color, race, or language they speak. But we would and do object to having as neighbors that will not through their own neglect, come up to our American standard of living, whether he be a negro, Jap, or what-have-you. We object to those whose low standards of living demands no privacy, and who flaunt those standards in our faces.

Charleston, S.C.

MRS. PAULINE L. AMSLER.
143-A Mixson avenue,
North Charleston.

Sun. 11-17-46

'Copying the White Man'

Times-Dispatch

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

As a reader of your paper since childhood and as a present subscriber, I wish to say I am fully in accord with Ruth Webster who wrote in your VOP October 28 ("God Separated Them.")

My school education is limited but my 54 years of life is more education than it's possible for any school to give.

Until the Negro establishes a standard of his own and lives up to it, he will get nowhere. The Negro today is copying the white man. He gets a cigar, pair of gloves, cane, pair of spats, all copying the white man. I realize the Negro is in bad company when he is in the company of lots of white men.

Richmond, Va.

The Negro is being taught by a few whites that he is equal to the white man. Yet at the same time, the same whites are keeping away from him. Let the Negro establish a standard of his own and we whites will back him.

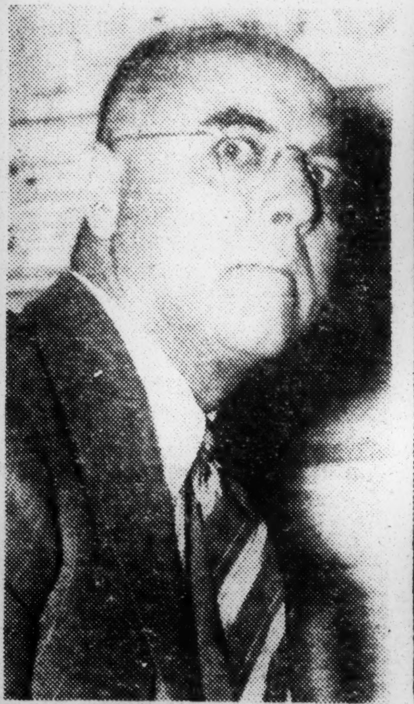
Tues. 11-5-46 L. E. BEDDOW.
Charlottesville.

HATE-GANG AT IT AGAIN

The Worker

By Art Shields

They're free—free to peddle once more their poisonous waresof hate and disruption. Last week a Federal judge in Washington dismissed the indictment against the 28 notorious fascists who had been arrested and charged with sedi-



CHARLES HUDSON

GERALD P. WINROD

New York, N.Y. Sun. 12-1-46

tion against the United States during World War II. Now this gallery of ill-fame can, with impunity bait Jews, hate Negroes and incite against trade unions.

Here is the rogues gallery:

★

REV. GERALD P. WINROD, the most dangerous of all, is already broadcasting his hate-the-Jew message over a chain of radio stations in Kansas.

His fascist **Defender** magazine, which often praised Hitler in the past, has regular editions of 100,000 copies and more.

And Winrod is constantly preaching against the CIO, the Jews, the Communists and liberal Democratic Party leaders.

Winrod has big employer backing. During the early weeks of his seven-months' trial in Washington in 1944 I used to see him conferring often with a dressy ruddy-faced lawyer, George Siefken, whom the big aircraft companies of Wichita had sent to his aid.

★

MRS. ELIZABETH DILLING peddles her hate through the **Patriotic Research Bulletin** which is sent through the mails from Chicago.

Anti-Semitism is its dominating motive.

This fascist shrew has been backed by many industrialists, who used to distribute her book, The Red Network, in large quantities, during CIO drives and political campaigns.

McCormick's **Chicago Tribune** has assisted her too.

Mrs. Dilling's line was that the CIO and the Roosevelt administration were "Jewish" and "Communistic," and that even President Truman was inclined the same way.

She wants Republicans like Sen. Robert A. Taft and George Bricker, Dewey's vice presidential running mate, to take power.

Merwin K. Hart, the du Pont-backed fascist, who wants liberals shot, is one of her friends.

★

JOE McWILLIANS, the Christian Mobilizer chief, whose hoodlums used to beat up Jews on the streets of New York, has been collecting funds for the fascist Nationalist Party.

Reynolds, who married a daughter of the socialite Evelyn Walsh McLean in Washington, boasts that the "Nationalists" will take power in the next few years.

Eugene Sanctuary now in his 70's, is too feeble for much public speaking now. But his official history of the Ku Klux Klan is being circulated by the nightshirted fascists.

The U.S. District Court's clearance of William Gerhard Kunze and the five other German American Bundists among the 28 defendants will be utilized by such pro-fascist

JOE McWILLIAMS

ELIZABETH DILLING

groups in Yorkville as the Voters Alliance for Americans of German Ancestry.

12-1-46

★

CHARLES HUDSON, the Omaha fascist, who does a strictly mail order business, has been circularizing his post office list with more fascist stuff in recent months.

Lois de Lafayette Washburn, the screeching fascist who gave the Nazi salute from the courthouse steps in Washington during the sedition trial, has been working in Reynolds' Nationalist Party.

Some of the 28 fascists, like James True, anti-Semitic writer, who patented and sold a club, which he calls the "kike killer," have been lying low while the court case was pending.

A Job for Both Races

Times-Dispatch

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

I cannot understand why it should be so difficult for J. W. Moore (whose letter appeared in the VOP recently) to discover what we Negro citizens want of America. The answer is simple: to be treated as American citizens.

Surely, you realize that the number and types of jobs open to Negroes are limited. In most cases, the pay received is inadequate. Even if we are capable of holding jobs other than those in the domestic group, often we are not considered. *Richmond, Va.*

Why should a man's ability and merit be disregarded because he is of another race? Why should civilization be deprived of enlightenment in many ways because the contributor is not of the dominant race? *Wed. 11-6-46*

I do not agree that we should laugh at Bilbo and his kind. Would you sit and smile while injury is being inflicted upon you? Then why should we, while insult and injury are heaped upon us at every turn? We have to fight lest we lose our democracy.

The Negro can modify existing conditions ultimately, but not without the help of his fellowman. I hope that in the future all citizens of America will realize this and act accordingly.

CAMERON DAVIS.

Richmond.

Races Are Interdependent

Times-Dispatch

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

I was amused when I read L. E. Beddow's article in VOP titled "Copying the White Man." I wish to challenge your statement, "Until the Negro establishes a standard of his own and lives up to it, he will get nowhere." Just what special standard do you suggest? When a Negro walks into a store to buy his clothes, just what type of clothing should he ask for that white people don't wear? Just what kind of job should he create or ask for with no consideration as to what is expected of him by the white man? *Sat. 11-9-46*

If you think any race of people, whether it be black, white, yellow or brown, can live without borrowing ideas and customs from others you are way behind, and in your 54 years of life you have failed to learn a lot just by observation. *Richmond, Va.*

CARRY JONES.

ROBERT QUILLEN

Prejudice Is Usable

The Constitution

Atlanta, Ga. Sat. 8-10-46

"Prejudice" would be easier to understand if written as a hyphenated word, pre-judice. It was formed of two Latin words, prae judicium, meaning before judgment.

Literally it means the forming of an opinion without reason. In common use, it means an unreasonable opinion, usually based on feeling, which causes people to oppose or favor something without justification or evidence.

TWO PEOPLE with exactly opposite opinions may be equally prejudiced. One may be prejudiced against colored people and the other prejudiced in their favor; and if the word is used correctly, they are equally unreasonable, for their opinions are not based on sense or logic but only on emotion and lack of understanding.

The class conscious can see no wrong in anything done by their crowd, nor can they see any good in the group they oppose. This blindness is a result of prejudice. Their opinions are not based on knowledge or understanding, but are snap-judgments prompted by their feelings.

The prejudiced man has laid aside his highest gift, the ability to reason, and made himself full brother to those who cannot think. He is a dangerous man; for prejudice is contagious, and if it affects men in sufficient number, they can wreck their nation and bring ruin to the world.

AMERICANS HAVE paid dearly for their blinding, unreasoning prejudices in the past, but now they are endangered as never before. For the demagogue's knack of arousing and using prejudice has now become a science, studied and directed by men of remarkable ability, and the very elect are deceived by it.

Young veterans with decent ideals and high purpose, whose earnest desire is to improve the nation they saved, are tricked by evil men who know how to arouse their passions and warp their minds with prejudice, and thus use them as tools to tear down the very things they wish to build.

THERE ARE over 200 so-called veterans' organizations—some with no more substance than a letterhead and a barroom address. Most of them are after the veteran's initiation fee and nothing more, but others are political and their purpose is to use the veterans as Hitler used young Germans.

There are other propagandists serving a foreign master or evil causes here at home, who are making use of every prejudice that afflicts our people.

Force is useless against ideas. Our only defense against prejudice-mongers is a constant appeal to reason and common sense and decency. The truth always wins—if it arrives in time.

Discrimination in Society News

The News and Courier

Gazettes in the North, among them the best known of the daily defenders of American freedom, are vociferous in condemning the Southern practices of racial separation, yet it is a strange fact that these newspapers discriminate against negro brides by refraining from publishing their pictures on the society pages. If only on a percentage of population basis the negro brides are entitled to occasional representation in a democratic newspaper. The standards for inclusion among the society notables are said to be determined by certain records, notably the Social Register, a publication compiled in New York. It is high time the negroes had a Social Register of their own to qualify them for society pictures in The New York Times, The New York Herald Tribune and other great daily journals.

Charleston, S.C.

49 1946 General

Misleading Statement

Startled to Learn 66 Per Cent Of Whites, 28 Per Cent of Negroes Believe Negroes Are Given a Square Deal

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

The Courier Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 10-19-46

It startles the imagination to understand how 66 per cent of white people and 28 per cent of Negroes can say that Negroes are getting a square deal in these United States. It is not my purpose to argue with the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Denver. But I do know that questionnaires can be grossly misleading even when the questions are framed and the answers are compiled by learned university professors. I do not see how the answers to the questions of fair treatment of the Negro could be given without suggesting some frame of reference, such as: Has the Negro an equal chance with the white man to develop his native ability; or does the Negro meet more obstacles than the white man in his efforts to rise in American Society? In other words, when a question like this is raised there must be a measuring rod or a yard stick against which judgments are made. It is not enough to ask "are Negroes in the United States getting a square deal?" To answer this question adequately one must take into consideration at least two things: The Federal Constitution and the Christian Religion. These are the two measuring rods that must be taken into account.

Mr. Mays

• • •

EVEN THIS is not enough. The element of comparison must come in. If you raise the question as to the fair treatment of Negroes, you imply that he is treated as fairly or not as fairly as other racial groups in the American Commonwealth. The treatment of Negroes must be compared with the treatment given to white Americans. The question cannot be intelligently discussed without such comparison. The question would need to be framed in such fashion as this: The Federal Constitution guarantees equal rights, equal protection, and equal opportunity to every American regardless of race, color, or creed. Do you believe that the Negro's rights, protection and opportunity are equal to those of the white man? The question might also be framed against the background of the Christian Religion. The Christian Religion contends that God is no respecter of persons, that all men are equal in God's sight and that God is father of all. Then the question might be: as a Christian Nation do you think America is as Christian in its treatment of Negroes as it is in its treatment of white people? Unless the issues were thus sharpened the data released by the University of Denver are wholly misleading. If all these factors were taken under consideration when the question was answered, two observations must be made.

1. If any one in America can contend that the Negro is treated fairly when compared with white people he is ignorant of the facts. He doesn't know that by and large Negro public schools are inferior in space and equipment to those of white public schools; that in the deep South the salaries paid Negro teachers are much less than those paid white teachers, even when the teachers are equally qualified; and that the per capita expenditure on the white child in the South is approximately four times more than the per capita expenditure on the Negro child. He is ignorant of the fact that Negroes pay the same fare as white passengers on trains and buses in the South and get inferior accommodations. He does not know that in many sections of America the Negro seldom gets justice in the courts if a white person is involved. He is unaware of the fact that there are many jobs Negroes cannot get however competent they may be. He does not understand that often Negroes are paid less than white workers when doing the same work. He does not know that Negroes are lynched and denied the ballots in many sections of America. The Negro is the only racial minority in the United States that suffers this kind of discrimination.

2. If all these things are known and still 66 per cent of the whites and 28 per cent of the Negroes believe that Negroes are getting a square deal in this country, there is only one other conclusion to draw. Sixty-six per cent of the whites and 28 per cent of the Negroes believe that Negroes are inferior beings and for that reason are not entitled to equal treatment with white Americans. If this is so the great inequality of treatment that exists does not disturb these whites and it does not matter to the Negroes. In the case of the Negroes who say that Negroes are getting a square deal, they have been down so long that they have come to believe that they are inferior. They have accepted their roll. Nobody seems to care when dogs are killed on the highway because we all believe that dogs are inferior to men.

• • •

BUT SUCH inequality based on race is denied by the Declaration of Independence, the Federal Constitution and that part of it known as the Bill of Rights. Potential equality is affirmed by science and attested by the Christian Religion. The data on this subject compiled by the National Research Center of the University of Denver startles the imagination.

What the Negro Wants

Times-Dispatch

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

The word "segregation" does not mean "discrimination against." Races naturally segregate themselves in New York, Chicago, and other cities where there are sections where live Jews, Greeks, Italians and Chinese. "Birds of a feather flock together." Races feel more at home where their own language is spoken. They like to have their own churches, clubs and social functions. Richmond, Va.

It is a fact that the best seats on buses and streetcars are in the rear. The Negro realizes that. He is nearer the rear exit. He avoids the congestion in the front.

The Negro in the South does not want social equality, but he does want and should have equal rights and privileges when it comes to earning a living, being a good citizen, and playing his part in the commmunity where he lives. He pays his taxes, he contributes to the Community Fund. No man has any right to challenge him at the ballot box because of his color. In our nation's capital, he holds high government positions with credit. In war he proves himself a good soldier. His ambition is to be a good citizen. He is loyal to his church. He is the white man's friend. The white man is his friend. Thurs. 10-24-46

Nowhere is this quite so true as in the South. Such men as Bilbo, Rankin and Talmadge have no right to hold public office. All this talk of "white supremacy in the South" is only bugbear and malicious propaganda. He who uses it for political purposes deserves no following.

S. M. SMITH.

Richmond.

An Advance for the Negro

Times-Dispatch

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

Richmond, Va. Thurs. 10-24-46

May I commend the statement October 9 of Thomas Lomax Hunter on interracial relations in Dixie in which he upheld the view that Negroes should be treated with more courtesy in personal relations and more justice. Such a statement from Mr. Hunter is one of the most significant in the field of race relations in Virginia in years. It is heartening to all interested in race relations and in the progress of the Negro.

In his admirable study, "Disadvantaging Factors in the Life of Rural Virginia Negroes," published at Virginia State College, Dr. Harry Roberts of that institution says: "The Negro's mind which in a normal situation would be concerned with economic and other nonracial interests is preoccupied with thoughts and feeling about what he considers the interracial aspect of his thwarted and restricted life—and this means a tremendously wasteful expenditure of vital energy in a nonproductive manner."

White people do not realize how rapidly the old servile, resigned spirit, born of slave psychology, is passing and the extent to which the Negro is developing a feeling of worth and dignity as a human being. Nor do they appreciate the growing restiveness of Negro youth against the many frustrating restrictions under which they live. It is not generally known that approximately 3,000 Virginia Negro youth annually graduate from high school or college.

The bug-a-boo of race equality must not be allowed to confuse issues of social justice. There must be recognition that the majority of Negroes place such justice ahead of social intermingling—which most of them do not wish. In recent years, the writer's research has taken him into hundreds of Negro homes of all types—from the humblest sharecroppers to those of doctors, ministers and college presidents. These have brought increasing insight into the effect on the Negroes and the large social cost of the disabilities under which Negroes frequently labor. There must be less exploitation, more opportunities for suitable employment, better living standards, better school, health and recreational facilities, and greater consideration in governmental services and activities.

W. E. GARNETT.

Blacksburg.

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S. M. SMITH.

Richmond.

the week

The Afro-American

Shedding Prejudice

Baltimore, Md.

Press Not for Sale

By W. I. GIBSON

The current issue of the bulletin published by the New School for Social Research, New York, carries an editorial by Bryn J. Hovde which should be required reading for a lot of us.

Basis for the editorial is a letter written to a faculty by a former student, a colored man, now working in Flint, Mich. It said in part: Sat. 11-23-46

"I came to the New School a bit prejudiced in regard to all members of the Caucasian race. I had almost lost my dreams of seeing a better America, a real democracy. Today, after having . . . mingled with the student body, talked with members of the faculty, I am stronger in many ways.

"I can say sincerely that as I work here in Flint, I will be trying to understand the entire community, not just colored people and our problems."

Not overlooking the potent advertising value in such an expression, President Hovde, in commenting upon the letter, says that the true value of these words "lies in the fact that a colored man has recognized prejudice in himself and has decided to put it away."

Cause For Prejudice

Continuing, he says:

"Between those of us who would justify racial prejudice, the colored man has the better right. God knows the Caucasian race (not always so very blond) gives him ample cause.

"The dominant white majority excludes the colored man from equal economic opportunity, condemning him to poverty and servitude. Afro-American

"Equal educational opportunity is withheld except from a few who are promptly frustrated for lack of suitable employment.

"For his living space, the colored man is shunted to the most wretched quarters on the land and in the city brutally confined so that, as in Baltimore, his 20% population is allotted 2% of the urban space. His life is made one long humiliation of jim crowism.

"Since the perpetrator of injustice always fears his victim, the white man lives in terror of the colored man, organizing for his imagined safety against imagined vengeance into crude fascist associations like the KKK and the Columbians. Surely, it is the colored man who has cause for prejudice. Baltimore, Md.

"But here is a colored man who, having had a vision, has put prejudice away. He has realized that no good can come from preserving division in the community. He knows that even his own people, much as they have a moral right to demand special consideration for themselves to wipe out special injustice, must face the problems of the whole community and make its contribution to the welfare of all." Sat. 11-23-46

There is plenty of food for thought in this point of view but those who do not readily subscribe to it should not hastily be condemned. It takes a long and tortuous period of self-examination for one to be able to take the long view which is taken by the man in Flint.

It is here that the true test of education can be made and, as we see it, made workable by those of our own racial group, we have all the more ground to insist upon equal educational facilities for all and for whites who have had the advantages of education to demonstrate to the less privileged of their own group just how racial prejudices can be overcome.

Unless education can meet this acid test, it cannot be said truthfully that its purpose has been justified.

Poet Blasts Myths Of Race And Class Before Texans

The Louisiana Weekly New Orleans, La. Sat. 11-16-46

By Edmund Rollins

Austin, Texas, Nov. 13.—Standing in a packed auditorium, on the campus of Texas University, from which President Homer Rainey had been fired for his liberal policies, Melvin B. Tolson, professor of English at Wiley College, blasted the myths of race and class superiority. For two hours his pointed epigrams evoked thought, while his eloquence and mastery of facts held the audience.

The Daily Texan, official organ of the university, carried quotations and a summary of the speech on the front page. It was the most dynamic speech ever made here in the struggle for minority rights.

The Daily Texan pointed out that Tolson blasted three groups: (1) the government; (2) the upperclasses, and (3) the weakeneed intellectuals. He declared himself a defender of the rights of the underdog, the little people, all over the world. He said that in modern society we find "a government of the big boys, by the big boys, and for the big boys." That's the reason Negroes find themselves hemmed in by jim-crow laws and white Southerners by poverty.

Speaking of his friend, Dr. Frank Dobie, visiting professor at Cambridge University, England, who had just been attacked by Governor Coke Stevenson, Tolson said: "During great crises and struggles for human rights, many intellectuals get cold feet and to warm them they climb into an ivory tower, like T. S. Eliot and Claude McKay. They become 'spiritual.' They talk about 'spiritual' values. That's a form of hypocrisy that keeps them from fighting these dirty battles, these bloody struggles, for racial justice and social democracy."

Tolson said "freedom of speech" in the United States is a myth. Every Negro in the South knows that. Since Truman fired Henry Wallace, every member of the Cabinet of the United States knows that. "Freedom of speech" means the freedom to say what the big boys want said. Ask Wallace. Ask Rogge. Ask William Hastie, ex-member of the Black Cabinet.

The Daily Texan emphasized Tolson's argument that: "Civilization is made up first of economics, out of which come laws and ethics. The upperdogs regard laws as No. 1; the underdogs, ethics as No. 1. The "Haves" enact laws. The "Havenots" use moral appeal. A man at the top of a mountain can never see what the man at the foot of the mountain sees. Therefore, morality is the weapon of the weak to curb the power of the strong. That's the reason the southern highways are crowded with Negro leaders on their way to the Supreme Court of the United States. The makers of jim-crow laws were ignorant men; therefore, they left the laws full of loopholes."

When the author of "Rendezvous With America" finished, he was given a great ovation. The points made in his speech were widely discussed on the campus. Tolson's long poem, "Dark Symphony," won the National Poetry Prize in Chicago.

A SALUTE TO ORSON WELLES

Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 8-24-46

At a time when the hearts of the Negro people are aching with pain induced by irrepressible violence committed against their brothers in the southland, it was indeed uplifting to hear the magnificent, dramatic voice of Orson Welles booming over the radio last Sunday in a challenge to America to rid itself of the phobia of race hate. He said America has laws against peddling dope, America should have laws against "peddling hate." Moreover, he said, "There is no room in America for Jim Crow."

With the wave of hate hysteria spreading from one end of the South to the other manifesting itself in race riots and lynchings; with the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan in many states, not only of the South but of the North as well, Mr. Welles' denunciation of hate mongers was timely and significant. Though his was a lone voice speaking in the wilderness, the echoes of his incisive words have stirred the backward people of South Carolina to the point of retaliation. They have banned Mr. Welles' pictures. What a strange reaction! Here in America where the doctrine of free speech has been made the cornerstone of our constitution, a man dares not express his opinion even when great crimes have been wantonly committed against helpless citizens.

But Mr. Welles knew what the reaction might be to his words. He could have chosen to ignore the lynching orgies disgracing our country in the eyes of the world, but he was courageous enough to realize that this was the time for caustic words which would sting America and awake her moral conscience to drastic action against the transgressors of the sacred principles of Christianity and democray. We salute Mr. Welles as America's Number One Citizen of the Hour.

Ole Miss Hears Anti-Bias Talk

PM New York, N.Y. Sun. 12-15-46

Hodding Carter, crusading editor of the Greenville (Miss.) *Democrat Times,* spoke against racial intolerance at the University of Mississippi over the protest of 20 Gulfport business men, alumni of Ole Miss, who had demanded that his address be canceled.

Backed by University officials on his right to speak, Carter took the position that "within the framework of segregation the Southern Negro is entitled to decent housing, adequate medical care, equal educational opportunities, equal pay for equal services and equal justice in the courts."

Carter's critics had said his ideas were "not in line with what we want our children to be taught." Carter replied that radio, books and newspapers, all available to children, "present ideas which are considerably more controversial than anything I have said or written."

Living Today

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Sun. 10-20-46

By ARLIE B. DAVIDSON

PRINCIPLE OR PREJUDICE?

Government, as well as all process of social life, ought to be based on sound humanitarian principles. Too often, however, it is grounded in prejudice. Not that the intellect is not used to think through the essentials of government for today and tomorrow. The intellect is used and high principles of government are selected by discriminating judgment. Even so, prejudice comes into play, overpowers the mind, and moves into the place of major leadership.

It is always easier to follow prejudice than reason, for prejudice is a part of the deep-seated emotions, and the feeling side of man is usually more powerful in common living than the reason. But prejudice guides people into all sorts of foolish and unwarranted ventures. Human rights are tramped upon with no pangs of conscience, nothing seeming to be too important to escape the determined, though illogical, leadership of prejudice.

Prejudice sets person against person, people against people, nation against nation, race against race, religion against religion. It makes cooperation and friendship weak and difficult, if not impossible. It creates fear and suspicion. Operating in government, it mocks at genuine justice, prevents much-needed legislation to meet new and pressing problems of the state and nation; and it often reduces the right of the voting franchise to a minimum.

For long centures prejudice withheld the right of the common men and women from participation in government; it limited education to the few; it kept religious groups in perennial conflict against each other; it made trust and confidence between national groups weak and ineffective. It has been a millstone around the peoples of the world and a major obstacle in the path of social and spiritual progress.

Prejudice must be uprooted, both in self and government. It only divides and eventually destroys. Principle must take its place. It uplifts, unifies, and helps to establish and maintain justice and fairness to all. It will make a better person. It will make a better and more livable world. Prejudice never will.

Poll Reveals Wave Of Race Prejudice

The Courier Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 11-16-46

ST. LOUIS—According to Leo K. Bishop, regional director of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, recent polls conducted by his organization indicate that 13 per cent of those questioned admitted they would join a hate campaign against Jews. Similarly 11 per cent of those polled think Negroes are a menace to America and would join a hate campaign against them. Also 7 per cent would join a similar campaign against the Catholic Church.

Speaking before the Cooperative Club of St. Louis, Mr. Bishop declared that such symptoms could not be ignored if the public health and common welfare were to be maintained, and if democracy were to be expanded.

"If we are to live in a world free from liquidation by war and extermination by concentration camps we must establish attitudes which will enable us to respect and appreciate those who differ in political, racial or religious views. Although the splendor of America is to be found in its people—Protestant, Catholic and Jew, Oriental and Occidental, black and white, urban and rural—the danger of America is also to be found in her people,' Mr. Bishop declared.

Racial Prejudice Called Outlet for One's Own Faults

The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky. Mon. 12-9-46

Berkeley, Cal., Dec. 8 (AP)—Prejudice against Negroes is a means of making them the "goats" for one's own character faults, says Dr. Else Frenkel Brunswik, University of California psychologist, after making a public-opinion survey of the subject.

Persons who have inclinations towards such things as laziness, uncleanliness or thoughts about sex which they do not like to admit even to themselves may try to clear their consciences by nursing a disapproval of people whom they consider more appropriate for the role, Dr. Brunswik reported.

Negroes and Mexicans make good targets for these feelings, she added, because they are "submerged minorities"—that is, economically or socially underprivileged and therefore exposed to lower standards of living, which makes it easier for their critics to attribute to them also lower standards of behavior.

Prejudice against Jews is along this same line but with reverse English, Dr. Brunswik reported. Here the prejudiced persons feel that Jews have traits which they would like to attribute to themselves, such as too much drive, too much intelligence, or too much power.

The reason this type of prejudice is directed against Jews, Dr. Brunswik asserted, is that they are a minority with a record of achievement, and prejudiced persons feel that a minority should not have such characteristics.

Says Prejudices Contradict.

Expressions of prejudice often are so contradictory, Dr. Brunswik said, that minorities could not possibly conduct themselves in a way that would please their critics. For instance, she added, the Jews are accused of being too clannish and at the same time too gregarious.

Prejudiced individuals have one trait in common, she said: They are unable to recognize any faults in themselves or in the group to which they belong.

The survey was financed by the American Jewish Committee.

Film Revival of 'Abie's Irish Rose' Blasted

The Worker New York, N.Y. Sun. 12-1-46

Pic Branded Nazi Type of Racial Propaganda

Abie's Irish Rose, a Bing Crosby production scheduled to be released by United Artists shortly, was under fire today by religious groups as "the worst sort of caricature of both Jews and Catholics."

The charges were revealed in a recent issue of weekly **Variety,** film and theatrical journal, which in an editorial in the same issue strongly rapped racial stereotype.

A committee of representatives of a number of religious groups saw a preview of the Crosby production, **Variety** reported.

Members of the committee "were particularly vehement against the depiction of the Jewish father as interpreting everything in terms of 'economy,'" the paper reported.

"Irish Catholics in the film are caricatured almost equally as badly as the Jews."

The film is a modern version of Anne Nichols' play which made a hit in the mid-twenties, showing a romance between an Irish Catholic girl and Jewish boy.

The Crosby production cost $650,000 to produce.

Conferences between representatives of the religious groups—which include the National Conference of Christians and Jews—and Hollywood producers were scheduled, seeking to have the film revised or shelved, **Variety** said.

Those committee members who saw the film said it "sets us back 20 years in the work we have been trying to do in bringing the people of America closer together."

The Variety editorial said that "apparently too many are forgetting the lesson in 'racial stereotypes' provided by the Germans. This is no shrugging matter. As people think so may they act.

"If race hatred grows in America, the foundations of our society are weakened. It is especially ill-advised for all those who live in and can only thrive in a liberal environment to thoughtlessly degrade certain racial groups and excuse the gags, the dialect, the stock-in-trade on the grounds that it was well-intentioned spoffing.

"Ridicule is never well-intentioned. It wasn't well-intentioned back in Boston in the 1840's when Yankee 'natives' made sport of the impoverished Irish immigrants. It's never been merely 'innocent' to kid Poles in Buffalo, Swedes in St. Paul, Jews in a Park Ave. drawing room or Bohemians in the coal pits.

"And it isn't merely 'innocent' when radio programs, to which millions of people listen, make laughter by catering to the snob feelings of one group at the expense of another."

The editorial was sharply critical of films and radio programs which show Negroes as carrying dice, razors and astrology books and Italians as "gangsters with tommy guns."

In Defense of Jim Crow

The News and Courier

As The News and Courier has heretofore observed, the republic of which it is an inhabitant has an area approximating 3,000,000 square miles and the other inhabitants number about 140,000,000. They are of a variety of national origins and races, though more than 90 per cent of them have white skins. *Charleston, S. C.*

The number of inhabitants to the square mile is about 45, contrasted with more than 700 in Great Britain, Belgium, Holland, and with at least 300 in most of the European countries, except Russia. *Mon. 11-25-46*

One reads day by day in the unreactionary and "liberal" journals, of the kind edited by Brother Henry Wallace, D.P., and of those of the "400s" in the politer parts of the northern cities as well, furious and scorching objurgations about "Jim Crow."

"Jim Crow" is a phrase that means separation of the white and colored races in schools and in other social relations. (In passing we notice that Jim Crow is prevalent in the "society pages" of greater New York's greater gazettes.)

The immigration restrictions of the United States are Jim Crow laws on planetary scale.

There is room in continental United States for 100,000,000 Europeans not at this time having as much to eat as they would like or as is required to save them from malnutrition.

In India, China, Palestine, Japan, in African countries and the islands of the Pacific and South Seas are not less than 1,000,000,000 human creatures whose standard of living is so low that to call it a "standard" one must stretch the imagination.

The immigration restrictions of the United States are Jim Crow laws and practices against the rest of the world. Were they repealed, millions of Africans would come to our great and blest country, and it may be that the Society for the Advancement of the Colored People would invite and help them to come. (It might be that the colored workers in the South whom the CIO is organizing would object to competition on Southern farms and wharves of newcomers from Ethiopia and the Congo.)

The News and Courier is an advocate and defender of the American policy of international Jim Crow.

It is dictated and written into law and enforced by that enlightened and humanitarian majority of the Americans dwelling north of the Mason and Dixon Line.

At the same time they, the "liberals," Tammanyites and democrats are incessantly proclaiming that the people in the Southern states are practicers of Jim Crow, maintaining separate schools, sometimes separate political bands, solely because they cannot resist the temptations of the devil.

This they say despite the truth that neither the whites nor the negroes in the South are trying to overstep barriers dividing them and that, if the two races were not pestered by the uplifters, of foreign cities and people of the Marcantonio districts inter-racial relations would steadily improve. They have been improving the last half century and longer.

Abraham Lincoln more than any other American caused and promoted separation of the races in the Southern states. If he was an American Jim Crow is Americanism.

ALONZO SMITH of Chicago tells this one which took place the other day after he boarded a north-bound Drexel-Hyde Park bus at 56th and Hyde Park blvd. All front seats next to the window were occupied by white passengers and he went to the rear where there were several colored passengers and one white kid, also next the windows. The bus filled rapidly after that, mostly with colored passengers, who passed the seats in the front and came to the rear where they were soon doubled up.

The bus began to take on the appearance of a Jim Crow set-up down in Dixie, and the white kid, after looking around apprehensively, got up and moved to the front where he took a seat with another white passenger. His relief was short-lived, however, because his white seat-mate got off at the next stop and a large colored lady got on and sat down by him.

The kid looked all around at the other passengers, and since all of them knew or sensed what was going on, they all smiled at him, white and colored. Unhappily, he flunked his first race relations test, he couldn't bring himself to smile back, he got up and got off at the next stop, far from his destination.

Drama

The Defender Chicago, Ill.

ENOC WATERS, crack Defender reporter, was en route from Houston to Chicago by air. The white man passenger sitting next to him got off at Dallas and Enoc moved over to the seat beside the window. A pretty white girl got on and took the seat beside him. She immediately struck up a conversation, telling him it was her first plane ride, asking if he thought she would get sick, offering him gum and announcing her parents were there to see her off. *Sat. 10-19-46*

Her friendliness attracted a lot of critical attention, especially from a red, bull-necked character sitting a few seats ahead, who kept turning around glaring at her. Oblivious of the stares, none of which Enoc missed, she chatted on, leaned far across him on the take-off, and practically laid in his lap once they were in the air, so as to get a good view of the city from the sky. Enoc offered to change seats with her but she graciously declined.

Meanwhile, old bull-neck could stand it no longer, left his seat and tapped her on the shoulder. Engrossed, she did not notice him until he dug two sausage-like fingers into her shoulder. When she turned, he said not a word, just pointed to his seat. Without hesitation she gathered her belongings and without so much as a "so long" moved up front to the designated place. Old bull-neck, beaming with triumph and righteousness, plumped himself down in the seat next to Enoc. Nobody said a word, it was wordless drama.

* * *

Training

Irate Britisher Raps U.S. Treatment Of Negroes

Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 9-21-46

WASHINGTON—America's self-appointed role as the breast plate of Democracy in occupied Europe and the Orient was drawn in farcical contrast to her incompetence in assuring democracy to 13,000,000 loyal citizens at home in a recent edition of the London Sunday Pictorial.

In an article entitled "The Silent Citizens of Georgia," written by Colin Valdar, the British publication commented that the "silence of the citizens of northeast Georgia over the identity of 20 white gunmen contrasts strangely with the noisy American voices which daily lecture the world on 'democratic principles and moral responsibilities.'"

Obviously referring to stands taken by Secretary of State Byrnes and President Truman, Valdar added that these champions of democracy "had no hesitation in pouring petrol on the 'inflammable situations in other countries by describing their rule as 'undemocratic.'" Continuing his satire, Valdar said:

"It is unfitting, therefore, that the limelight of democracy should on occasion be turned upon its self-elected sponsors.

"What are the facts America shrinks from facing? What false sense of loyalty or modesty protects 20 white hooligans and deprives four murdered Negroes of the right to be avenged in the eyes of their fellow-men?

"Bluntly, the truth is this:" he answered, "That 13,000,000 Negroes in modern democratic America—one-tenth of the population—are fighting for 'freedom from oppression.' That expression is not lightly used. It figured in an appeal only two months ago from the National Negro Congress to Mr. Trygve Lie, the Secretary-General of the United Nations."

Continuing Valdar surveyed the whole array of recent violence against Negro Americans and decried the fact that "13,000,000 Negroes live on the edge of an inferno," while elected officials view the situation with casual indifference.

In conclusion Valdar advises United States spokesmen on foreign affairs to arrive at some degree of consistency with the people of Georgia, who when questioned on the Monroe lynchings, remained silent.

DEFENDER PUBLISHER URGES PRESIDENT TRUMAN TO ACT

Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 8-17-46

Following is the text of a telegram sent to President Truman and 17 Southern governors by John H. Sengstacke, publisher of the Chicago Defender, in an effort to initiate action to halt the wave of terror and lynchings, which has gripped the southern states of this country:

HONORABLE HARRY S. TRUMAN
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C.

49 gen.

A veritable Reign of Terror exists, in fact, in the Southern section of the United States. A whole segment of our population is being terrorized. Information collected through a Chicago Defender "on the spot" investigation, indicates that the Negro citizen is without the protection of Law and Peace Officers.

All the world now knows about Columbia, Tennessee — Monroe, Georgia—Athens, Alabama, as well as innumerable instances which have not come to the light of day.

This situation threatens government by law, and the federal government has the inescapable responsibility of protecting the life and property of its citizens.

The recent mob violence in Athens, Alabama, following in the wake of the Monroe, Georgia, Massacre indicates definitely the state of hysteria into which some people in the South have fallen.

We fear that this pattern of behavior is likely to duplicate itself throughout the nation.

Under the lash of fear and the terror of mob rule, Negroes are becoming increasingly restive.

Since judicial processes appear to be paralyzed or stymied, some Negroes, no less irresponsible than white mobsters may decide to protect themselves by taking the law into their own hands.

Unless immediate action is taken, we stand before the world as making mockery out of democracy.

Our pleas for World Unity at Paris are but empty words.

You, as the Chief Executive of our Nation and Commander-in-Chief of our Armed Forces have the responsibility of invoking the powers of law.

I urge you, Mr. President to take immediate action.

JOHN H. SENGSTACKE
PUBLISHER
CHICAGO DEFENDER.

A similar wire has been sent to the governors of Southern states.

The Chicago Defender can no longer stand by while our people are mistreated.

Defender 49 gen. Chicago, Ill.

Men like Bilbo whose very philosophy is inimical to our democratic institutions — whose very election is questionable are the type of men who make "Hitlers" possible.

We appeal to the American people to understand that our veterans who just such a short time ago stood shoulder to shoulder with their American buddies in fighting a war to preserve the "Four Freedoms," deserve something better than the sting of mob rule.

We call upon Negroes everywhere and white America too, to support us in the fight to make America a safe place for democracy.

We remember the prophetic words of Emperor Haile Selassie in April 1936 when addressing the old "League of Nations" on the rape of Ethiopia — "The world will little note what is said here, but the world will not forget the action taken by the body. The plight of Ethiopia today may well be the plight of all small nations tomorrow."

There were those who laughed. But the world felt the spleen of Hitlerism.

Sat. 8-17-46

We today issue the same warning.

Today it is the Negro.

Tomorrow it may be the Jew—and then the Catholic. . . .

And then those who are not pure Aryans.

Once Bigotry gets in the saddle there is no end to its course until destroyed completely.

Fascism is on the March!!!

Send your Contribution TODAY to the—

Chicago Defender Committee To End Fascism In The South.

INTERRACIAL ROMANCE HITS SNAG IN UNITED STATES

Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 8-24-46

49 gen.

HOUSTON, Tex.—U.S. authorities called a halt to interracial romance last week when they returned two London girl stowaways and arrested their would-be Negro husbands for supposedly aiding aliens to enter the country.

With high hopes of meeting their prospective husbands in Pittsburgh, Pa., Joan Marie Cook, 20, and Renee Morris Zegansky, 17, both attractive burnettes, planned to culminate their London romance with two Negro messmen, T. J. Hanna, 22, and Theodore Bell, 25, but the speedy action of immigration authorities taught them a lesson in "Americanism" instead.

Arriving in Galveston May 19, the stowaways slipped ashore and stayed undercover for several days with a Negro family in Hitchcock, Texas.

Instead of being showered with sympathy and making the feature pages of glossy-covered magazines, they were spotted by immigration authorities and jailed until put aboard the ship by Roy James Cole and sent back home.

The case of these two girls—who took certain war slogans too seriously—reminded many Americans of previous cases where lovesick stowaways were allowed to remain in the country, if they married "American" citizens.

On boarding the Cole, one of the disillusioned girls reflected, "We learned a lot about America."

Prejudiced Persons Are Ill

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

While we have always suspected that persons displaying racial prejudice are mentally ill, it remained for Dr. Else Frenkel-Brunswik, University of California psychologist, to put a scientific finger on the problem.

Reporting to the American Psychological Association on a study of the personality of racially prejudiced persons, Dr. Frenkel-Brunswik declared that people who demonstrate extreme racial prejudice are teetering on the brink of mental instability.

Sat. 11-16-46

"The racially prejudiced," the psychologist said, "are insecure, though externally they may exhibit confidence and even arrogance. They accuse racial groups of aggression underlying weakness, preoccupation with sex, etc.

"Actually these are the things which the prejudiced find in themselves, but are unable to face in themselves. Therefore, they project these unpleasantries to others, usually a racial group. . . ."

If the foregoing is true, the number of mentally ill persons in the U.S. must reach astronomical proportions.

Whites Believe Negroes Treated Fairly

Courier-Journal

Colored Race Thinks Otherwise

Sun 8-4-46 Louisville, Ky.

Denver, Aug. 3 (U.P.)—Most white persons in America think the Negroes are treated fairly, but most Negroes think they are not, the National Opinion Research Center reported today.

A cross-section survey of the American public found 66 per cent of the white people with the belief that Negroes were getting a "square deal." Of the Negroes contacted in the poll, 28 per cent thought their race was treated fairly.

A 25 per cent minority of the white population responded that they thought Negroes were not treated fairly, while 66 per cent of the Negroes hold that belief, the research center said. Nine per cent of the whites and 6 per cent of the Negroes had no opinion.

Seventy-six per cent of white Southern residents believe the Negroes receive fair treatment, while 62 per cent in the North expressed that opinion.

A Rebecca, Ga., housewife said: "I certainly do think they're treated fair. A Negro is always a Negro."

A steamboat fireman in Chicago responded: "They're doing too much for the Negroes—building all these projects when white people can't find any decent place to live."

Sun 8-4-46

A Tennessee man: "Negroes are not treated fairly. Especially in the courts. You almost never hear of a fair trial for colored people."

An unemployed Negro in Virginia said: "There's nothing fair about it at all."

In The Big City

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 8-3-46

Richard Dier Says Jim-Crow in Nation's Capital Worse Than in Dixie

By RICHARD R. DIER

NEW YORK ITEMS: For those New Yorkers who often disgustedly grumble about the town's housing conditions; its subtle but highly obvious jim crow restrictions; the well-nigh impossibility of colored getting the decent, well-paying jobs, I recommend a trip to Washington, Maryland and points South.

If they don't all come back loving the big city more than they ever did before, I'll eat the very paper this column is printed on.

New York's far from the ideal city in the country. It's still a jim crow town. But if there's any progress at all that's been made since the war toward the hope for equality. . . and no one can deny that there isn't some. . . .then New York shows it most. Go out of town . . . . and you'll feel as if you were back in the 19th century.

N. Y. and D.C.

For comparison, take the capital city of Washington where our Federal legislators sit and grind out the laws for the rest of the country to follow. Obviously, the feeling here signifies the pulse of the rest of the nation. . . . and let me tell you, its pretty rotten!

I talked to native Washingtonians who, though professing some dislike for Bilbo's tactics, agree with the self-styled "Mayor of Washington" in his declaration that they must not get the right to vote.

One realty operator, a Virginian, who sells acreage out near Camp Edwards, told me: "I dont give a damn whether I vote or not. We can't let these colored folks go to the polls. There are too many of them here. . . .must be about 40 per cent of the population.

"Do you know what they'd do? They'd be electing their own Mayor, legislature and even the chief of police. That'd make it a hell of a deal for us, whites."

Just Like Ga.

I asked him whether he considered it worth while to deny whites the opportunity for suffrage guaranteed them under the Constitution just as long as to keep colored out of office.

"You're darn tootin' I would!", he replied vehemently.

Since colored comprise only about 40 per cent of the population, I queried, what makes you think they could elect all the officials?

"Listen, feller, colored folks here are highly organized. We whites ain't. You can bet your bottom dollar they'd get together and run the whole show for us."

The white proprietor of one of the largest radio and music shops in town, who has a large colored trade, said that he likes colored trade, said he likes colored customers but won't hire one for all the money in the world. He continuously referred to colored people as n—s.

White Gentiles Only

Washington's baseball fans are more predominantly colored than New York's. Needless to say, Griffith Stadium pursues a jim crow policy in seating customers.

Beaches and pools are all jim crow. In New York, we have a Coney Island and an Orchard Beach where anyone can go in for a swim. "White Gentiles Only" signs along the Maryland beaches are very amusing. I wonder how they can pick out Jews from Gentiles?

What disturbed me most was meeting white New York friends who had settled in soft government positions during the war and had changed their views about racial affairs.

Earl Conrad

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Illinois

Summary Of Series

Sat 4-27-46

THE "AMERICAN VIEWPOINT" series I have been doing in the national edition of The Defender is drawing to a close, and I want to summarize what I have found as a result of a poll of a cross section of white attitudes. I deliberately selected individuals who symbolized some relationship to the community, one each in the sphere of anthropology, sociology, business, labor and so on. While I didn't cover all the professions and sciences I think I polled enough viewpoints to get an idea about what is going on in white American minds at the moment.

Sat 4-27-46

In general the series confirmed a feeling I had before the interviews were undertaken that great changes are taking place in white areas of thinking and doing about the so-called Negro question. I believe that there are liberating processes at work in white America that were dormant for generations. I think there is a new consciousness among millions of whites about the Negro's plight that will lead, by one means or another, and very soon, to a marked elevation or transformation of the status of the darker brothers and sisters.

Forces Of Liberation

I am convinced that three main forces have set into motion a great broad national movement for liberation of the Negro that will not stop short of the Negro people's full liberation, that the issue of the Negro's freedom will be fought out in all possible ways; and that this fight to a finish is entering into its last stages now. That is to say, I think we are approaching a crisis soon, within a year or five years — and that a New Reconstruction Period will follow. I am not saying that we are entering any Utopia, or indicating how much will be changed: but I am convinced some kind of a showdown is looming somewhere in the near future, and that this must be followed by a new upsurge in Negro living conditions, a new level of living and social conditions.

The three great forces that have set off liberating energies are these:

(1) The Great Migration which has produced a decisive Negro political bloc in the North.

(2) The white labor movement which has discovered and is speedily putting into life the old Marxian dictum that labor with a white skin cannot be free while labor with a black skin is branded.

(3) World War II, which focused attention of "the most democratic" country in the world, upon its innermost contradiction: the existence of racist poison in the mass of white American minds.

The migration of millions of Southern Negroes to the North has merged perceptibly with the cause of labor. That is not to say that white labor is clear about this relationship, or that it is free of traditional supremist attitudes, nor does it mean that there is the right amount of socializing between black and white workers: there is not. I recently learned, in fact, that actual hatred between black and white workers, is far more deepgoing than I imagined. But I believe that white labor leadership itself — while also often subject to chauvinist, or racist notions—knows that politically, theoretically and practically there must be a full coalition of these two blocs.

Inside Labor

Sat 4-27-46

I believe that educational forces are at work inside white labor organizations—but not working as intensively as they should—to expose the traditional poisons, to unify Negro and white. Remembering that the mass of the Negroes are workers, it is clear that their destiny in America, must be worked out with those with whom in the main they have contact—white workers. It devolves upon white labor to cleanse its house and its soul of all forces which would perpetuate the traditional separatist attitudes, to move vigorously against Jim Crow forces in the labor movement, especially the American Federation of Labor.

A great many inter-racial groups have entered the political scene. With varying objectives and strategies they are struggling toward social change. There is an awakening in the church. Pressures on government, over this question, are becoming tremendous. The Negro and white allies are becoming clearer on issues, methods of making progress, and ultimate aims.

Plea to Business

Editor Constitution: Harold Martin's column, "If You Believe, Say You Believe," is a real contribution to better race relations for it is of great value to those who are really contributing, in a tangible way, to the economic development of Atlanta and the South.

Believe it or not, if the Kluxers and the Columbians are permitted to proceed with their promotion of hate and intolerance, making life and property unsafe for Negroes, Jews and other majority groups, then we most certainly are going to lose to the North, East and West a large percentage of not only our best labor, but thousands of others capable of making a real contribution to the economic development of our Southland. No group will remain in a section where life, liberty and happiness are circumscribed and threatened.

The election of Talmadge to office followed by the lynchings at Monroe, the killing of Negroes by posses here and there without a trial, the failure of the Police Department to protect life and property here in the State Capital of Georgia and a general upsurge of hate and intolerance has already speeded up the exodus of Negroes from Georgia.

Negroes generally believe that life and property are not safe even in Atlanta and that the advent of Talmadge means more mob violence and disrespect for law and order and as a result there is general restlessness.

If men who believe in Christianity and Democracy fail to speak out and defend it now, it will be too late after our best labor has departed.

The white church and our truly great newspapers have spoken out and have taken a stand on the side of law and order. The thing that is needed now, most of all, is that the presidents and heads of big businesses here in Georgia should come out into the open and let the public know where they stand. Some people say that the real trouble is in high places; that they back with their money the outlaws. If the heads of great corporations like the Georgia Power Company, Atlanta banks, and Coca-Cola Company, whose support comes in a large way from a million or more Negroes, would let the world know that they believe in law and order, then do something about it, the battle would be won.

If the heads of big businesses stand aside as they are doing and allow the Columbians and mobsters to run away a large percentage of our best labor, then big businesses in other sections of our country will profit by our loss. The heads of big businesses in this State owe it to the corporations that they represent to do all in their power to protect all classes of its patrons and labor. The interest of one is the interest of all. If the rich and powerful by their silence, indifference and fear, encourage and permit the laws of our State to be administered by gangsters, Klans and Columbians, then it is just a matter of time before they will take over the Georgia Power and other big businesses.

The heads of big business should remember that after all is said and done, the real jack pot, the great wealth, is held and controlled by them and not the Negro. A man or a group who will destroy the life and property of the poorest of our population has little to gain from them. What are a few blocks of old houses? The ultimate goal, the real jack pot, may not be the Negro, but the big corporations.

E. M. MARTIN,
Secretary, Atlanta Life
Insurance Company.

Atlanta.

Bright Spot

Editor Constitution: One of the bright spots in the tension, upheaval and restless conditions in our Southland today lies in the fact that there are a few influential, liberal-minded white people like Harold Martin, Ralph McGill, Gov. Arnall, a few church groups and other editorial writers for our daily papers, who have the courage and fortitude to speak out against the intolerance, injustices and hate organizations existing in our midst.

Not until the Negro is given fair, impartial opportunities in education, wages, the courts, and free balloting will the South be able to take its rightful place among other states who believe in and practice Democracy.

Our prayer is that others will see fit to speak out by word of mouth or by the press in articles like the one so courageously written by Mr. Martin in the Nov. 21 issue of The Atlanta Constitution, titled, "If You Believe, Say You Believe."

MRS. N. B. DAVIS.

Vital Problem

Editor Constitution: This is just another "thank you" to Harold Martin for his splendid article, "If You Believe, Say You Believe."

He arouses us to the fact that we are indifferent rather than heartless about this very vital problem that is eating at our souls here in our Southland.

We, the Atlanta Council of Church Women, realize that we are the minority group, but knowing that our aims are right and that God is on our side, will continue to fight for justice to all human beings. What we need in our Southland these trying days is more tolerance and understanding among our masses. Keep up your splendid writing, Mr. Martin.

MRS. F. M. HATCHER, Sec.
Christian Social Relations,
Atlanta

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

What the Russians Read of Us

Atlanta, Ga.

Fri. 11-13-46

I wish to thump the tub for Harper's Magazine, of current issue, because of the presence therein of all six articles written for, and published by, the Soviet newspaper Isvestia (meaning News), from Ilya Ehrenburg.

Mr. Ehrenburg is easily the outstanding journalist, or newspaperman, of the Soviet Union. He is one of the world's most able writers and, while it probably will shock both of them, is somewhat related in style and approach to Mr. Westbrook Pegler, the American columnist.

I think the articles should be read because they constitute the first real report ever made to Soviet Russia by one of their own journalists after an American visit. There can be no dispute about this because Mr. Ehrenburg is not merely the first, but the only, Soviet journalist to make such a journey and report.

A great many persons have wondered what Russia hears about us. This is the best illustration of it. Not, of course, that it is all the Russians hear. But it is something almost every Russian will read. They all read Mr. Ehrenburg. Also, by now, I would imagine the articles have been published in pamphlet form and may be had at the various kiosks and shops dealing in such items.

They are objective articles, at least in so far as Mr. Ehrenburg is concerned, although few Americans, if any, will consider them so to be. The fact that some of the items presented as facts are but half truths, does not remove the bitterness of even the half truth.

And the fact that Mr. Ehrenburg was writing for home consumption, with an awareness also that the articles would be published in America, gave them perhaps even more objectivity than they otherwise would have had.

Skillful It is a skillful job. There are plenty of places where it may be attacked, but there always is enough truth in what he says to make the attacker uncomfortable, even though he lay on lustily and cries not at all, "Hold, enough."

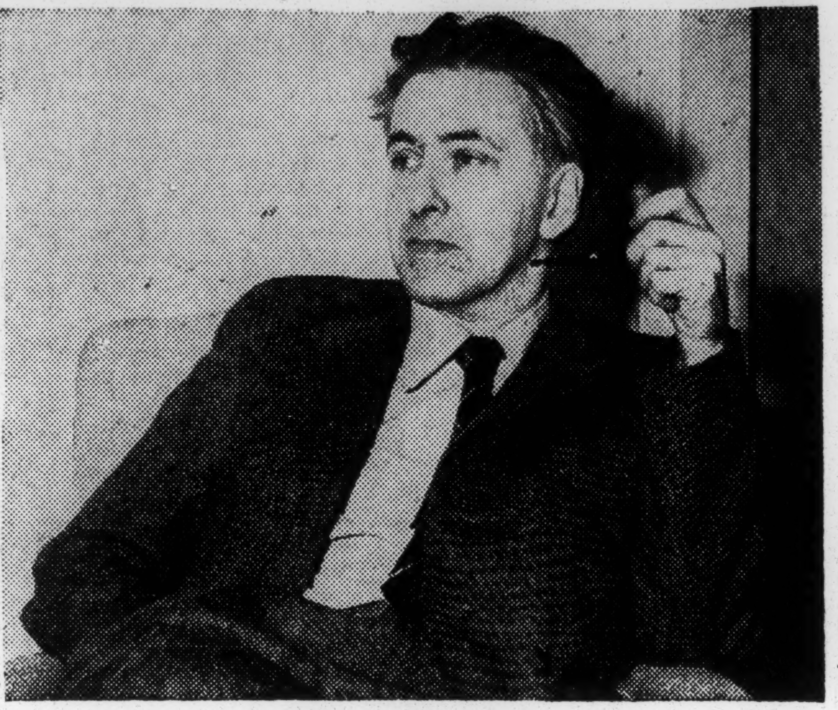
So, I suggest the reading of Mr. Ehrenburg's articles. I offer no indorsement. I merely suggest it important they be read to see what Soviet citizens are hearing about us. And I do say they are as fair as the average "objective" piece about Russia presented to us, be it one of the saccharine, sweetly sick jobs by one of our fellow travelers, or one by one of our more hysterical viewers-with-alarm.

The South will like it least of all, because it is chiefly concerned with the South. He has done a very clever and typically Ehrenburg-ish job of propaganda. Where he wished to distort a bit for his purpose, he has done so. Where he wished to foreshorten for his special perspective, he has done so with great skill.

America But he writes of America, too, and in saying one must remember the age of the country to understand Americans, he is entirely correct. We have come from the percussion-cap rifle to the atom bomb in less than a man's average span of life. We have come from the log cabin to the air-conditioned apartment where electric "eyes" open doors and turn on radios, in the same span of time. Said he:

"There is nothing more the reverse of the British character and customs than the character and customs of the average American. The Englishman is polite and phlegmatic; he loves to live out his life in the home of his grandfather; he orders his suit of first-quality material, expecting to wear it, if not until he dies, at least until the next elections. The American likes only new clothes. Hardly has he furnished his apartment than he is looking for another. He never has a suit made to order; why should he? In any shop he can find a cheap, well-made suit; can wear it a little and then throw it out. He will buy a shirt that is not worth washing. He respects old stones, but loves flashy new ties—and noise.

"The history of the United States is indeed a new history. I might say, incidentally, that history studied by school children appears to vary in different States; in the North the Southerners are called 'defenders of slavery,' and in the South the Northerners are called 'oppressors.' Vexed issues here frequently hide the feeling of history. For the average American nearly a whole epoch pass between the morning and evening papers; he doesn't remember in the evening exactly what disturbed him in



ILYA EHRENBURG

One lady told me: 'Don't read this novel. It's not a new one; it came out two years ago.'"

He was impressed with production and the standard of living, saying:

"Anti-Soviet ideologists like to depict our country as a sort of barracks in which everyone is deprived of individuality. The Soviet reader will be amused by the surprise of some American editors who, on seeing us three visitors, said in amazement: 'Why, they don't look much like one another.'

"As a matter of fact, I don't know of any country which has achieved such perfection in standardization as the United States. I was in dozens of American cities which were impossible to distinguish from each other. Every city has its Main Street—the principal street—with fashion shops, a cinema, and lighted signs advertising cigarettes or Coca-Cola. Not a single American can distinguish Main Street in one town from Main Street in one of a hundred others from a photograph. Naturally, New York has its own distinctive character, yet Americans usually complain that 'New York is not America.' For the inhabitants of Birmingham or St. Louis, gigantic New York, with its many different races, is like a headquarters or a den of freethinkers. . . ."

"Trousers, percolators, and armchairs are standardized, too. I do not say this reproachfully, for Americans have succeeded in raising the material level of life, thanks to mass production. I think we can learn something from the Americans; how to turn out shoes or saucepans quickly and well. However, almost all luxury articles in America are imported and a salesman who wishes to explain why this or that is expensive says, 'But this is imported.'

"There is a certain depression in such uniformity: the same houses, the same furniture, the same crockery; men in identical suits, women in identical dresses. But still I do not agree with the European aesthetes who have ridiculed the standardization in America. Perhaps all the suits are alike; on the other hand, they are accessible to all."

Anyhow, read the articles for what they are.

Russian Author Shocked At Racism In Southern U.S.

The Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 7-13-46

By THYRA EDWARDS and MURRAY GITLIN

For two months now metropolitan dailies have kept up a running account of the comings and goings of three Soviet visitors, Mikhail Galaktionov, Konstantin Simonov and Ilya Ehrenburg, who were invited as guests of the U.S. State Department to tour any section of the country they chose.

Ehrenburg, famed author of "The Fall of Paris," a Jew, born in the period of tsarist pogroms, wearer of the Order of Lenin, the highest civilian honor of the Soviet government, has seen racism wiped out by the Soviets in one generation and chose to observe the conditions of life in the unregenerate South.

We telephoned Ehrenburg as soon as he returned from his tour of the South. He answered the phone in English and asked if we wanted to speak in English, French, German or Russian. We said "English," and a young woman took over and said we might come up at 10:00 on Tuesday.

Promptly at 10:00 we got through the pseudo-modern lobby of the Waldorf-Astoria and via the pseudo-modern elevators up to the tenth floor where his interpreter admitted us.

Ehrenburg Described

In a few minutes Ehrenburg came in, shook hands all around and sat down.

He recited his itinerary briefly, then commented:

"At Fisk university I spoke with students and faculty members. At TVA I talked with Negro workers who took part in the construction. At Birmingham I visited a Negro editor. I went to see Negro and white trade union leaders and at Jackson, Miss., I talked with the Negro and white lawyers on the **Jackson rape case.**"

In Mississippi he visited Negro and white sharecroppers on cotton plantations and in New Orleans his party was entertained by Negro intellectuals.

He summed up: "I have talked with people of all categories and all this plus the many books I've read give me a feeling of being close to the whole problem."

Cites Misinformation

We had met Ehrenburg at various places in New York City and each time he had commented on the great amount of misinformation prevailing in the USA about conditions in the USSR. We were curious to know if he had found this same pattern among the Negro people in the South.

Generally speaking, he said, they showed an intelligent curiosity about life in the USSR. The students were interested in the possibility of an exchange of students between the two countries, the workers wanted to know about wages and standards of living, much the same questions as similar groups ask.

"But one thing I noted throughout our trip," and he smiled for the first time—a very faint smile. "I found no hostility or enmity toward the Soviet Union anywhere among Negro people. Whatever category, it was the same. The feeling was friendly."

In connection with the stock questions about the Soviet, Ehrenburg appeared puzzled and a little bored. He pointed out patiently, however, that in Russia a man can own his own home, but not gouge rent from others; can save money, although Russians generally prefer to spend it; can worship God as he pleases; can live on savings if he wishes; Soviet women can be housewives, but generally prefer financial independence.

He carefully reiterated that "one idol that is not worshipped in the Soviet Union is money," and that a man is not allowed to make money out of money.

Deepest Impression

We wanted to know what experience in the South had made the deepest impression on him.

He stopped some minutes, and we'd begun to think he wouldn't answer that one when he said very seriously:

"**I met a girl, a student at Fisk university.** She was half Russian, half Negro—her mother was Russian. Can you imagine what it meant to me, a Soviet citizen, to find a half Russian—she looked entirely Russian—living under the conditions imposed upon a Negro community in the South!"

He had been amazed and confounded by the firmness with which race prejudice was rooted in the hearts of the Americans with whom he talked. Under the tsar racism had been in the law of the land, but even under tsarism Russian intellectuals had fought it.

"A Russian intellectual," he said, "would as soon have admitted he had a venereal disease as admit a trace of racism in his heart. But here it is in the hearts of the people. And racism in the hearts of the people is much worse than having racism in the law."

EHRENBURG FINDS U. S. IS SURPRISING

The New York Times

Soviet Writer Likes Literature Luggage Lockers—Scores Segregation in South

New York, N.Y.
Wed. 7/17/46

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, July 16—The United States is a peculiar and multiform country that is difficult to imagine, Ilya Ehrenburg writes in the last instalment of his impressions of America in today's Izvestia.

"It is impossible to understand the present age without understanding America," says the Soviet journalist, who has "traveled all over Europe and at times thought nothing could surprise me."

Disclaiming any desire to imitate those American journalists who come here with a book on Russia already in their heads or in their briefcases, Mr. Ehrenburg "carefully looked around and tried to understand what I saw" and soon understood there were many things there he had not dreamed of: "Everything here is different—cities, trees and customs." He finds it difficult to describe briefly his "acute impressions, which often are contradictory.

"An intricate technique often veils the spiritual simplicity that at times hides unexpected complexities," he says. He sees contrasts in American literature, which he "places very high." It is difficult, he says, to find in western Europe nowadays such writers as Ernest Hemingway, William Faulkner, John Steinbeck and Erskine Caldwell. They are followed by a vacancy—the short stories in the illustrated weeklies, which are so vulgar and silly that even the most exacting reader in Europe would turn aside from them. There is no medium literature, just the same as there are no four or five story houses.

Admires Luggage Lockers

Mr. Ehrenburg saw another American contrast in the skyscraper or two towering in the midst of thousands of single-story houses that was so common a sight in any provincial town. He admired the automatic luggage checking lockers where one puts a coin in a slot and gets a key, which he saw in the Atlanta station. 7/17/46

"I wanted to say to my American guide: 'You sure manage to make things easy for the existence of human beings here,' but the words froze on my lips when I saw Negroes and mulattos in the dark, smelly waiting room for colored persons,'" he continued.

"I visited a planter's house in Mississippi," he went on. "It had a refrigerator, washing machine and a wonderful radio set. The planter told me quite calmly 'Black's ain't human beings at all.' This slave owner's mental development was not affected either by radio or by electric fans.

"I visited many universities. Much is being done in America to raise the standard of knowledge. I saw excellent laboratories, schools and scientists surrounded by solicitude. But in Tennessee, professors told me they were not allowed to teach the theory of evolution in schools: the law forbids any departure from the Scriptural myth of Adam and Eve.

The Lions and the Klan

Discussing Lions Clubs, one of which entertained him at lunch, when he heard respectable business men roar like lions, Mr. Ehrenburg says: "Of course, such sounds on the part of dealers in suspenders is an innocent game. But there are more frightening spectacles."

Mr. Ehrenburg describes a recent Ku Klux Klan parade in Georgia when members of this "quasi-secret society donned fools' hoods and took the oath from their Fascist little fuehrer, whom they address as Great Dragon, after which they swore to lynch a couple of Negroes and kill a few 'free thinkers.'"

Everyone knows that in the United States money is respected, he says. "Apart from the hundreds of registered churches and sects there is another sect—that of the dollar."

Describing dinner meetings, the Soviet writer says: "At first everyone hurriedly chews his chicken, then the speakers make long speeches, then some singer sings a sentimental song, after which the parson goes around with the plate for a charity collection. He announces the names of the most munificient givers: Mr. Smith sacrificed $500 * * * Everybody claps and Mr. Smith gets up and bows."

It is less known, he says, that in America there are alongside the sharp business men many naive dreamers and noble idealists. "I met a prominent inventor who refused a fortune for fear his invention would take the bread out of the mouths of hundreds of thousands of farm laborers. I spoke with provincial utopians who sacrificed both strength and money to a fantastic project for creating a 'world government.'"

"In one town," he continues, "I came across a circle of cranks who were convinced they could make the atomic bomb harmless with the aid of Esperanto. Negro defense societies exist everywhere. Every year an innocently condemned Negro is executed in the electric chair and every year the best people in America protest against race barbarity."

"Yes," Mr. Ehrenburg exclaims, "in America exists the cult of the dollar, but you can also find in America people who refuse to buy new shoes or a ticket for the movies so they can send a present to Yugoslav children."

He finds Americans full of childishness—"They are outspoken, curious, inartificial and noisy."

The oldest part of the United States, he says, is called New England. "Everything here is new, everything young." Pointing out that Americans are great lovers of old furniture, architecture and style, Mr. Ehrenburg continues: "It will be impossible to understand Americans if you forget about the age of this country."

He notes also that Americans love traveling from State to State and city to city, and remarks that they cannot even sit on one chair long without changing places. It is rare, he says, to find a person living in the place where he was born.

Contrasts with the English

There is no greater contrast to the English character and customs than the character and customs of the average American, Mr. Ehrenburg asserts. "The English are polite, phlegmatic and love to live and die in the house of their fathers. They order their clothes of the first quality of material and expect to wear them until they die, or at any rate until the next elections. Americans like only new clothes. No sooner have they furnished one apartment than they look for a new one. This time it is furnished more simply—they will leave it, furniture and all.

"The American never has suits made to order—what for? He can find well-made, cheap clothes in any store. He will wear a suit for a time and throw it away. He buys such cheap shirts that it does not pay to have them laundered. He respects old buildings but also loves new, flashy neckties and noise."

The history of the United States, Mr. Ehrenburg comments, does not go back many centuries—it is a truly new history. "Appropos of this, I must say that each State has its own history, which the children are taught; in the North, Southerners are defenders of slavery; in the South, Northerners are called oppressors. Here the burning issues often screen the feeling of history." 7/17/46 Wed.

In the evening, the American man in the street does not always remember what worried him when he got up because "an almost entire epoch passes for him between the morning and evening newspapers," Mr. Ehrenburg writes. He says books are out of date two years after publication.

The Soviet journalist mentions a conversation with Prof. Albert Einstein concerning anti-Soviet campaigns now being waged by big newspapers. "I referred to an article describing the rehabilitation of Stalingrad almost as 'an act of Soviet imperialism.' Professor Einstein replied, 'Such articles are for readers who have forgotten what Stalingrad means' and told me of an African tribe whose names are taboo on their death. 'Of course,' he said, 'such a tribe has neither legends nor traditions.'"

49

49

From Dickens to Ehrenburg

By Samuel Sillen *Daily Worker New York, N.Y.*

ILYA EHRENBURG was by no means the first visiting novelist to be appalled by the treatment of the Negro in American life. A hundred years ago Charles Dickens deplored the "horrible and repulsive" oppression of Negroes which he found here. In the century between Dickens and Ehrenburg the slave system was overthrown, but "white supremacy" remains the ugliest symbol of the chasm between our professed democratic ideals and our daily practice. *Mon. 8-26-46*

Dickens arrived here in 1842. His impressions are recorded in a volume entitled **American Notes.** Throughout the book Dickens is conscious of "that most hideous and foul disgrace—Slavery."

Traveling from Boston to New York, Dickens noted that even in the "free North" Negroes were segregated:

"As a black man never travels with a white one, there is also a Negro car; which is a great blundering clumsy chest such as Gulliver put to sea in, from the kingdom of Brobdingnag."

In New York the novelist found the Negroes living in "cramped hutches." Interested in prison reforms, Dickens one day visited The Tombs, that architectural monstrosity which he describes as a "dismal-fronted pile of bastard Egyptian, like an enchanter's palace in a melodrama." He looked at the tiers of furnace-like doors and said to the jailer:

"Those at the bottom are unwholesome, surely?"

The jailer replied:

"Why, we DO only put colored people in 'em. That's the truth."

IN BALTIMORE

On his way to Washington, Dickens stopped to dine at Baltimore, where he was waited on for the first time by slaves. Though an innocent bystander, he was filled with a sense of "shame and self-reproach." He tells us: "The sensation of exacting any service from human creatures who are bought and sold, and being, for the time, a party as it were to their condition, is not an enviable one."

As for the nation's capital, Dickens describes with bitter irony the behavior of the Bilbos and Rankins of that day. "But there are many kinds of hunters," he writes, "engaged in the Pursuit of Happiness, and they go variously armed. It is the Inalienable Right of some of them to take the field after their Happiness equipped with cat and cartwhip, stocks, and iron collar, and to shout their view halloa! (always in praise of Liberty) to the music of clanking chains and bloody stripes."

On the trip to Richmond, Dickens saw tracts of Virginia land whose soil had been exhausted by the system of employing slaves to force the crops. It gives him "satisfaction" to see this withered ground. He remarked that an air of ruin and decay is inseparable from the slave system. And he described the barns moldering away, the sheds patched and half roofless.

MISERY'S PICTURE

Dickens observed: "In the Negro car belonging to the train in which we made this journey, were a mother and her children who had just been purchased; the husband and father being left behind with their old owner. The children cried the whole way, and the mother was misery's picture.

"The champion of Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness, who had bought them, rode in the same train; and, every time we stopped, got down to see that they were safe. The black in Sinbad's Travels with one eye in the middle of his forehead which shone like a burning coal, was nature's aristocrat compared with this white gentleman."

Dickens saw the following "advertisements" in southern papers:

"Ran away, a Negro man named Henry; his left eye out, some scars from a dirk on and under his left arm, and much scarred with the whip."

"One hundred dollars reward, for a Negro fellow, Pompey, 40 years old. He is branded on the left jaw."

"Ran away, a Negro woman and two children: a few days before she went off, I burnt her with a hot iron on the left side of her face. I tried to make the letter M."

So much for the theory that Negroes were "contented" under slavery. So much for the "aristocratic" South.

Dickens exclaims: "Shall we cry shame on the brutality of those who hamstring cattle: and spare the lights of Freedom upon earth who notch the ears of men and women, cut pleasant posies in the shrinking flesh, learn to write with pens of red-hot iron on the human face! . . ."

A century later Ehrenburg writes: "I have been in the state of Mississippi, where half of the population were deprived of their right to vote. What is better: to deprive of the right to vote a man who has a black conscience or one who has a black complexion?"

A century between Dickens and Ehrenburg—and "pleasant posies" are still cut in the flesh. We move too slowly, much too slowly.

Racial Hate In America

Courier-Journal Louisville Ky.

Ilya Ehrenburg, the Russian journalist, gave a frank and honest report of his quick trip to the United States of America. He is not a hypocrite and did not dodge the race question to please Nazi-minded Americans in high or low places.

Colored people would do well to support Russian views on the race issue. Russia needs our support and we definitely need theirs. I, for one, am not afraid, nor ashamed, to take my stand on Russia's side on many matters, especially racial equality.

Here are some contrasts in Russian and American authority: This country spent billions of dollars and oceans of blood to defeat Nazism abroad, but does not spend time to defeat the same thing here at home. Russia put nine race haters and murderers of Jews to death in Poland, while here all we get are fine editorials and hypocritical speeches, but the lynchers go free in a free country, I suppose. *Mon 8-12-46*

Secretary Byrnes asked Russia to guarantee rights of minorities in their satellite states, but he says nothing about the rights of minorities here or in his home State of South Carolina. Americans criticize the one-party system in Russia and support the same in the U.S.A.

There is not any racial quota system in Russian life, no segregation or Jim Crow. No Bilbos, Talmadges or their kind can spread their lynching hate in Russia. There isn't any Ku Klux Klan in Russia.

Deep are the roots of racial hate in America. The church is not free of it and Christians practice racial hate religiously. America, when does the criminal trial of lynchers start?

EDWARD DOLEMAN.

Louisville.

Here There Is a Law

The Courier Journal Louisville Ky.

Replying to Edward Doleman (Point of View, September 8), I would like to ask how much he really knows about Russia, how many Negroes he thinks are in Russia, and how much freedom (if you could call it that) anyone has if not a member of the Communist Party, white or black, if any Negroes are there? There is no race question anywhere in Europe and so far as Negroes are concerned, there has never been. Evidently it is true that there is discrimination here against Negroes, just as there is from various groups against my own faith, the Catholic Church. The big difference between Russia and the United States is that we have here the machinery for righting wrongs and in Russia they do not. In other words, here it is against the law; in Russia it is not. *Thurs.* ANASTASIA M. LAWLER.

Louisville. *9-19-46 Louisville Ky.*

Race Hatred In America

Courier Journal

N. O. Kimbler's challenging letter was both amusing and pathetic. First, he denies true facts as they exist. Secondly, I feel very sorry for individuals who perhaps want to be just and fair, but cannot, and keep faith with the tradition of master-race thinking. That type of thinking destroyed Germany.

Mr. Kimbler, why do politicians and others seek to deny Communists jobs, while known Klansmen are retained and others hired? *Tues. 9-3-46*

Mr. Kimbler spoke of not one leading businessman spreading racial hate. I suppose he never heard of Henry Ford's fight on the Jews? But what are leading businessmen, priests, clergymen and politicians doing to check the spread of hate? The C.I.O. is doing more in that respect.

Mr. Kimbler spoke of Russian history being full of slavery and cruelty, but does that make the U. S. A. a better place to live in? I hope Mr. Kimbler read Mrs. Roosevelt's column on Russia's great achievement in solving race hate and prejudices. I say one of man's greatest curses has been destroyed in that country. Try it, America! You can only lose race riots and bloody clashes.

The Negro who thinks knows nothing is solved by violence. Everyone should know, but many ignore the fact, that the Negro has fought in every U. S. war. His slavery, his blood, his sweat, his tears for over 300 years have bought tickets to the American theater of life, but we are ushered and directed to second and third class seats. *Tues. 9-3-46*

In France and other European countries, in Brazil and many South American countries the Negro has made more progress in military, political, educational, scientific and social life than in the U. S. A. Mr. Kimbler asks, "Why the iron curtain?" I ask why bases all over the world and the atomic bomb threat?

EDWARD DOLEMAN.

Louisville.

A similar denial of Mr. Kimbler's thesis is contained in a letter from Elmer L. Meyers of Louisville.—(Editor.

Denies Race Hatred Here

Courier Journal

Letters like that of Edward Doleman should be challenged. Any fair-minded person reading the Russian journalist, Ilya Ehrenburg, can see he does not give equal weight to social currents or conditions in the United States. He writes to suit his purposes. Is this hypocritical? I think so. While there may be racial equality in Russia, a federation of many countries and races, there have been violent class struggles resulting in the murder of millions. Political purges are not uncommon. Secret police are much in evidence. *Louisville, Ky.*

In no country could the Negro race have made the progress it has made in America. Mr. Doleman says, "Deep are the roots of racial hate in America." Any observant person knows this is not true. How many of your personal friends or acquaintances hate some other race? How many hate no race, but have reasonable good will to all? This is the test. Shallow and easily controlled are the race hatreds of the few who have them. *Tues 8-20-46*

Is there a leading businessman, clergyman, priest, teacher, historian, writer, or any other leading citizen in the United States who advocates race hatred or holds in his own bosom hatred for any race? The answer is "No." Is there anything in the fundamental law of our country which indicates race hatred or upon which race hatred could be justified legally? The answer is "No." Such broad statements as his are not justified by the facts.

Mr. Doleman says Russia put nine race-haters to death. I suppose we are to believe that this wipes out the crime of murdering 3,000,000 Russians by starvation a few years ago. Even today the industrial purge is taking the lives of many Russian citizens. Free speech and free press are unknown in Russia today. The history of Russia is full of slavery, murder, assassination and cruelty from beginning to end. It will probably be several decades before Russia can be held up as an example of purity and light for us to follow.

Why is there the iron curtain?

N. O. KIMBLER.

Frankfort, Ky.

America's 'Racial Hierarchy' Target Of Russian Reporter

The Birmingham News
Birmingham, Ala

BY REMBERT JAMES

MOSCOW, July 24 — (AP) — The Russian reporter, Ilya Ehrenburg, wrote in Izvestia today that the United States had a legalized racial caste system in the case of Negroes and an entirely unofficial racial caste system in the treatment of Jews, Italians and Chinese.

Ehrenburg has just returned from an extensive, unrestricted tour of the United States. *Wed. 7-24-46*

"America, which never knew feudalism, has established another hierarchy—a racial one," he wrote.

"The English, Scotch and Irish are the aristocracy. After them come the Scandinavians and Germans, and then the French and Slavs. The Italians are many times lower. The Jews are even lower. Puerto Ricans are below them and the last at the bottom of the ladder are the Negroes."

Ehrenburg said the United States to him was a "puzzling place which helped to defeat Hitlerism, but which takes anti-Semitism as a natural phenomenon and deprives Negroes of all human rights."

He said that, if a man had a "colored" grandfather, he was regarded as "colored" and forced to submit to ovarious restrictions.

* * *

AT NASHVILLE, Tenn., the reporter said an unidentified man tried at length to convince him there were lower and higher races repeating "all the theories of Rosenberg and other ideologists of the Third Reich."

"My comrades wanted to visit California and Chicago, but I picked out the Southern states," Ehrenburg wrote. "Thus, after the skyscrapers of New York, I saw the cabin of Uncle Tom and can say this cabin has changed but very little."

He said he found 23 Negroes living in one house "far from the famous American comfort—refrigerators, elevators and chewing gum."

"I saw in the South youngsters who could not read, who hadn't even seen a school and who from their early childhood had known only one thing—hard labor," he asserted. *Wed. 7-24-46*

* * *

EHRENBURG SAID A NEGRO could not be pushed out of a restaurant in New York because he was a Negro, but could be effectively denied admission by being told all the tables were engaged. As for hotels, the reporter asserted that Negroes could get rooms nowhere except in the "Negro ghetto."

"Anti-Semitism in America is so common that many do not even notice it," he wrote. "It seems natural to them to hire only Aryans in some enterprises or to deny Jews entrance into some hotels.

"On the West Coast, the Chinese are outcasts. There are clubs, societies and organizations where they refuse to receive Italians as belonging to the lower elements.

"Despite these puzzling aspects, all immigrants, without mentioning their children and grandchildren, feel themselves Americans."

Race Barriers America's Dilemma, Ehrenburg Sees

The Defender Chicago, Ill.
Sat. 7-27-46

MOSCOW—Of all the bewildering contrasts he saw during his tour of America, wrote Ilya Ehrenburg in the Moscow papers upon his recent return, few stunned him so much as the inequality of citizens because of the color of their skins.

The Russian writer and two of his fellow countrymen recently toured America as guests of the State Department.

Automatic luggage check lockers in an Atlanta, Ga., railroad station caught his admiration, he wrote, "I wanted to say to my American guide: 'You surely manage to make things easy for the existence of human beings here.'

"But the words froze on my lips when I saw Negroes and mulattos in the dark, smelly waiting rooms for colored persons.

"I visited a planter's house in Mississippi," he continued. "It had a refrigerator, washing machine and a wonderful radio set. The planter told me quite calmly 'Blacks ain't human beings at all.' This slave owner's mental development was not affected either by radio or by electric fans."

Ehrenburg's great surprise possibly originated from the fact that in the Soviet Union, newspapermen have reported, it is a criminal offense to speak disparagingly of another because of his racial or religious origin.

Found Many Contradictions

Towering skyscrapers dwarfing the one and two-story buildings which surround them was one of the contrasts he found. Other contradictions were in the social development.

"Negro defense societies exist everywhere," he explained. "Every year an innocently condemned Negro is executed in the electric chair and every year the best people in America protest against race barbarity."

Lions' Innocent Dealers

He discussed Lions Clubs, one of which entertained him at lunch, where he heard respectable business men roar like lions. Ehrenberg commented: "Of course, such sounds on the part of dealers in suspenders is an innocent game. But there are more frightening spectacles."

He described a recent Ku Klux Klan parade in Georgia when members of this "quasi-secret society donned fools' hoods and took the oath from their fascist little fuehrer, whom they address as Great Dragon, after which they swore to lynch a couple of Negroes and kill a few 'free thinkers'."

Ehrenburg on America

The News and Courier Charleston, S.C.

Ilya Ehrenburg, the Russian poet whose articles in Pravda have been telling his impressions of a recent tour of the United States, describes the "race hierarchy" which he found in America and singles out Southern plantation owners for special censure. These people, he says, have confused themselves with the late Czar Nicholas and God.

Early in his tour, Mr. Ehrenburg mentioned having read the works of William Faulkner and John Steinbeck, and as the New York Times Moscow correspondent adds, he also must have read Harriet Beecher Stowe, judging by his reference to Uncle Tom's cabin, which he found unaltered in the South. *Sun. 7-28-46*

Mr. Ehrenburg reports that negroes in Southern states are deprived of the right to vote, and he quotes a lawyer in Nashville who shocked him by repeating "the theories of Rosenberg and other ideologies of the Third Reich". It would be interesting to know how many of Mr. Ehrenburg's own countrymen are disfranchised.

Though foreign reporters do not have as much freedom to travel the Soviet Union as was extended him in this country, the impression has got out that only the five million or so members of the Communist party have any voice in Russian politics. When there is a popular election only one set of candidates appears. In the economic side, there is many an inhabitant of Russia and her subject lands who would find a cabin in the cotton a step up from his present home.

In America, if one looks for them, one can find many things that need improving, many persons in misery. Faulkner, Steinbeck, and now Ehrenburg, have written about them, not always objectively. The millions of happy, contented and prosperous people are less interesting copy for visiting as well as some of the domestic journalists. Unlike Mr. Ehrenburg, the most violent critics of the American way who would substitute Communism do not go back to Russia and stay. Mr. Ehrenburg doesn't seem to think so much of this country, even as a place to visit, and he speaks plainly in his articles. We cannot imagine Pravda publishing any other kind of story on a trip to America. When Brooks Atkinson wrote frankly of Russia as he saw it in The New York Times, the Russian press denounced him as a "bandit". So far as we know, nobody yet has called Mr. Ehrenburg a "bandit". We content ourselves with the old saw, "other lands, other customs".

Birmingham, Ala. News
July 28, 1946

What Ehrenburg Didn't Say

When Ilya Ehrenburg accused America of not living up to its expressed belief that all men are created equal, he hit upon a sore subject. Regretfully we must admit that he has told the truth.

In the United States there is a caste system which relegates minority groups to a second-rate citizenship. There is no use denying it.

But Mr. Ehrenburg either didn't know, or willfully decided not to mention, that we are trying to do something about it. He apparently overlooked the fact that our courts are constantly handing down decisions intended to remove economic barriers that have walled in the underprivileged. He forgot to mention that increasing numbers of our citizens are being granted the legal right to vote. Perhaps he did not know that we are doing our best to educate the ignorant of all races and classes so that they can assume the responsibilities of good citizenship. He ignored the fact that we are building homes as fast as conditions permit so that the oppressed may have better living quarters, may raise their children to be useful rather than helpless adjuncts of our society. He did not mention the public health services that are extended to all our people, regardless of race or class.

* * *

The Negro is no problem in Russia because there are so few Negroes there. In this country the Negro population is better than one-tenth of the whole, from one-third to a half in the South. True, the Negro did not ask to come to America; he was brought against his will. As a race, the Negro has suffered injustice. But as a race he is better off than he was a half century ago, even a decade ago. Perhaps his progress has been slower than many of us would like, but it has been faster than many could have expected not too many years back. The outlook for his acquiring a first-rate citizenship is good. He gets fair treatment in most of our courts; he has the right to vote in most of our states; his health has been improving; his economic status is constantly getting better. For every Bilbo and every Talmadge, relics of a passing age of barbarism, there are a thousand white Southerners who recognize the fact that the Negro must progress toward equal citizenship rights if the South and the nation are to progress also.

* * *

Mr. Ehrenburg made a statement that amazes him but does not surprise us. "Despite these puzzling facts," he said, "all . . . feel themselves Americans." Quite true. And why? Because, Mr. Ehrenburg, every individual of a minority group knows that he could be no better off in any other country. America is a home to the miserable of other lands. Those who fled from the oppression of Fascist states know that. No Negro wants to go back to the jungles of Africa. No Nisei who fought so bravely in Italy wants to live where the "thought police" of Japan can control his life. Every person in America knows that the police forces and the FBI are trying to make him happier and safer than the OGPU or the Gestapo ever tried to make a citizen of Europe. Here our officials endeavor to benefit the society of which he is a part. They do not oppress, and when lawless groups like the K. K. K. begin to persecute, all the forces of government unite to destroy that which other governments have sometimes officially perpetuated.

There is one more point. In America we revere the individual, not the mass. We salute the great of every race. We do many things to help every potential Booker Washington and George Carver to achieve the highest standing that his ability allows. We do not purge the minority which disagrees with the idea of the government in power. We tolerate and try to persuade. When a man ceases to serve the people who put him in high place, we do not kill him or exile him. But, with the best democratic procedure we know, we retire him by the vote of his constituency.

Did you forget those facts, Mr. Ehrenburg? Or doesn't your government want your own people to know them?

The Reactionary Governors

Black Dispatch

Assembled governors, convening in Oklahoma City this week and talking about state rights are attempting to fit an atomic age into the ox-cart era. While the entire universe in contemplating upon the late Wendell Willkie's idea of "one world," these stand-pat reactionaries spend their time looking backward towards an archaic system of government which the automobile, the airplane, television and other modern methods of transportation and communication have completely out-moded. Oklahoma City, Okla.

The fact that we have twenty-one times by amendment revised and changed the constitution of the United States should warrant any reasonable person in assuming that the men who wrote the federal charter missed the boat a number of times in formulating a perfect system of living, and in addition to this, civilization and knowledge has been advancing, making obsolete many practices, at that time fitting into the horse and buggy days. A number of people do not understand why the president of the United States is elected in November and does not take his seat until early in January. The men who wrote the constitution and arranged for order of succession in office, provided time for men to drive in stage coaches, ford streams, and many times proceed in ox carts to a given spot. Even though the colonists resided at the birth of the constitution in the eastern section of the continent, and hundreds of miles east of the Mississippi, there were men who could not complete passage from their homes to Washington in less than sixty days. 6-1-46

Our stand-pat governors live in the past. Apparently they do not realize that airplanes permit a man to eat his breakfast in New York City and his evening meal in Los Angeles. Apparently not realizing that science and invention have made the universe a cramped place for humanity and has wiped out space economics, the Rip Van Winkle executives will spend their time in Oklahoma City musing over musty documents ayering the world is flat, the sun moves and that a thousand sovereignties are better than one. Our American governors will spend several days planning to preserve a questionable principle in government, which in the past has cost this nation much in human decency, common sense and brotherhood. 6-1-46

Way back in 1883, President Arthur Hayes, in recognition of the hampering effect state government was having upon commerce between the states, advocated the passage by congress of an interstate commerce act, which was finally passed four years later. But for the interstate commerce law, which is an expedient to cover up the inequities and impositions that one state seeks to impose upon another, in the free movement of goods and vital supplies, the industrial and commercial life of the nation would have been stymied. The same vicious narrowness has jutted out in later years in highway planning. Serious obstacles have been cast in the path of national traffic lanes by state governments, never able to grasp the over-all picture and thinking solely in terms of contracted, provincial economy. Highway maps in the United States today are crazy quilts because of state rights.

State rights had a withering effect upon America's war strength during recent international crises. State government not only hampered the draft, but in marshaling manpower to mann the industrial army back home, representatives of the U. S. Employment Service were threatened with arrest in several southern states when they sought to move into critical defense areas much needed Negro labor. These federal agents were threatned with jail sentences on flimsy chargs of enticing labor. An Alabama governor refused to permit the consummation of a war contract in his state because a paragraph in the document said that all laborers hired must have equality of opportunity, evidencing the fact that the proponents of state rights do not believe in democracy in action. Sat

State rights defenders are the ones who wrecked NYA, CCC, AAA, and a dozen alphabetically designated federal bureaus erected by the late Franklin Delano Roosevelt, having to do with the welfare of the masses. The states rights boys have not to date attempted to do violence to the RFC, which of course is the federal agency handing out a dole to rich people in America. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation is a "WPA" tit sucked continuously by big banks, railroads and other corporate interests. This sort of paternalism upon the part of government apparently will go unnoticed by the unhappy governors who will meet in Oklahoma City during the current week.

But worst of all, state rights does grievous damage to mass citizenship. America should have uniformity of law instead of special state legislation. Under our present system, state sovereignty makes laws that do violence to a pattern of life in a sister and adjoining state, thus contributing to disrespect for law and government, and most state governments refuse to obey the "full faith and credit" provisions of Article 4 of the constitution. It reads:

> "Full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records and judicial proceedings of every other state."

State rights provide forty-eight different rules for marriage in the United States, and assist criminals to widen distance between them and law enforcement agencies. The criminal keeps on jumping while his lawful pursuers must pause to secure sanction from state government before he can proceed. In this respect state rights contributes more to the criminal delinquency of America than any other instrumentality.

And again, state rights is the tool by which suffrage rights are denied to millions of blacks and whites. In one state one must own a certain amount of property and pay a poll tax. In another he must be able to read the constitution to the satisfaction of an individual, who many times cannot himself read. We also have forty-eight systems dealing with education, taxes, land ownership and a score of other things having to do with life, liberty and happiness. All Negroes know that jim crow, segregation, unfair employment and second class citizenship stem from special legislation enacted under the state rights provisions of the constitution.

Why cannot the governors meeting here this week be honest? Why can they not be willing to admit that the principle of state rights was jammed into the American constitution by a group of narrow-minded provincials who, jealous of colonial power, were afraid that central control might reduce their personal and selfish authority? Why cannot those who meet in Oklahoma admit that the world is today a much smaller place than it was in the days of Gouverneur Morris and John Rutledge, and that state rights is just as obsolete as human slavery, regarding which the founding fathers surrounded most of their arguments when they made decisions about representation in congress and population ratios.

The real challenge before the assembled governors rests in ridding the nation of county government. Oklahoma has 76 different political sub-divisions called counties. Each of these counties are weighted down with an expensive corps of officers. County business in Oklahoma could efficiently be reduced to six sub-divisions, with a resultant saving of millions of dollars now weighted down upon the backs of the sweating, toiling masses. Oklahoma's plight is the distress of every state in the Union. Good roads and automobiles have provided a means by which citizens can cross a half dozen states within the course of a day, and six counties in Oklahoma in 1946 could easily be accessible to the entire population.

Finally, the governors should remember that the main defects in the Articles of Confederation were basic in the fact that government under the Confederation rested upon state, rather than the federal structure. The confusion during the period of confederation should offer a solemn warning to those who still take pride in sectional sanctions.

DRIVING COURSES IN SCHOOLS URGED

The Times New York, N.Y.

Southern Governors' Parley Is Told Such Instruction Would Help to Cut Traffic Toll

(49)

AREA COLLEGES PROPOSED

Fri. 12-6-46

Pooling of State Funds Should Provide Better Professional Institutions, Floridian Says

By LEO EGAN

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MIAMI BEACH, Fla., Dec. 5—Automobile driving courses in high schools, which would include instruction in safety measures and traffic regulations, were proposed today by Gov. R. Gregg Cherry of North Carolina as one means of reducing the death toll from highway accidents. He also suggested a periodic re-examination of drivers in connection with license renewals.

In a speech at the opening session of the Southern Governors' conference, Mr. Cherry said that the traffic accident problem since the ending of gasoline rationing was one of the most serious matters facing the country.

Two other subjects discussed at the conference were the need in the South for better professional colleges, organized on a regional basis, and litigation pending in the Federal Supreme Court seeking to end what the South regards as discrimination against it in railroad freight rates.

Governor Cherry asserted that an "eat, drink and be merry" psychology which had dominated the country since the end of the war was equally responsible with outworn vehicles and deteriorated highways for so many traffic accidents.

It is necessary to arouse public opinion to the need of ameliorative measures if the trend is to be reversed, he added.

Speeding Called Greatest Evil

An examination of accident reports in his State and others, the Governor said, indicated that speeding was the greatest cause of traffic accidents.

Urging strict enforcement of a fifty-mile-an-hour speed law, Mr. Cherry asserted:

"When you drive a vehicle over fifty miles an hour you are not operating it, you are aiming it."

JOBS ARE SOUGHT FOR SOUTH'S LABOR

The Times

Governors Warned of Unrest if Industry Work Is Lacking for Men Machines Free

New York, N.Y. *Sat* *12-7-46*

By LEO EGAN

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MIAMI BEACH, Fla., Dec. 6—Southern Governors, holding their annual conference here, were warned today by Gov. James N. McCord of Tennessee that industrial job opportunities must be found for the farm laborers who soon will be displaced by perfection of the mechanical cotton picker and the sugar cane harvester.

Urging that effective vocational training and retraining programs be established in State employment agencies to cope with the problem, the Tennessee Governor declared that continued loss of population to the North, lower living standards and unrest in the South would follow a failure to find a solution.

Governor McCord's discussion of problems facing State employment services, recently released from Federal control, was part of a general appraisal of Southern industrialization prospects and means for improving them at today's session of the conference.

Other speakers included Chauncey Sparks, retiring Governor of Alabama; Maj. Gen. G. B. Erskine, USMC, director of the Federal Retraining and Re-employment Administration, and Gov. Millard F. Caldwell of Florida.

Local Backing Is Urged

Governor Sparks urged that efforts to develop new industries in the South put special emphasis on local organization, financing and management. Importation of industries from other regions with outside capital and management was an unsatisfactory answer to Southern needs, he said.

Asserting that there could not be any dispute as to the need for development of industry in the South, he added:

"We can no longer succeed with agriculture alone. We have drained our soil and depleted our timber to pay tribute to other areas of the country. The South needs industry. It is the only section not adequately covered with fabricating, processing and manufacturing plants."

With ample financing for new industry available through Southern banks as a result of heavy wartime deposits, Governor Sparks took a very optimistic view of the prospects for developing new industry and for diversifying agriculture as well.

Governor McCord, citing the experience of his own State, added that industrialization was well on its way last year. He said the value of Tennesses'e industrial production was $1,250,000,000 and its agricultural production was just over $1,000,000,000.

For Unified Control

Since in virtually all States the returned employment services are being integrated with unemployment insurance, Governor McCord suggested that Federal supervision of both should be assigned to the same agency. At present standards for State employment services are set by the Federal Labor Department, while unemployment insurance is supervised by the Social Security Board.

A broad expansion of vocational education and rehabilitation of the physically handicapped under programs financed jointly by the States and the Federal Government was urged by General Erskine. He said there was huge economic wastage because of the failure to return physically handicapped persons to gainful, self-supporting employment.

During the fiscal year 1946, he reported, the number of physically handicapped rehabilitated through the Federal-State programs in operation in the forty-eight States was only 35,000. At this rate, he estimated, it would take twenty-nine years to rehabilitate those now handicapped.

"And this is presupposing no further additions to the ranks of the handicaped," he added. "However, last year alone nearly 90,000 persons became permanently disabled in industry.

"Thus we have a situation in which many more persons are becoming disabled each year than we are able to rehabilitate. Not only are we failing to keep pace, we are actually losing ground."

The conference received a report from its veterans committee urging that existing Federal limitations be removed on conmpensation which veterans in on-the-job training programs may receive while remaining eligible for subsistence grants from the Veterans Administration. It also asked that additional hospital facilities be provided for Negro veterans in the south.

Governor Caldwell suggested that the conference establish a permanent secretarial and research staff to study problems of common interest to the south and recommend solutions. His suggestion is to be considered at the concluding session of the conference tomorrow. *12-7-46*

Regional college *(my label for this separately pasted piece; not printed on the page)*

The regional college proposal was offered by Gov. Millard F. Caldwell of Florida. In many professional fields, such as veterinary medicine, forestry, medicine and engineering, individual Southern States were unable to maintain top ranking schools, he said.

If legal difficulties could be overcome, he added, it would be more economical for them to poll finances and students to establish such institutions on a regional basis.

Negro Question Raised

One obstacle to such an undertaking, it was suggested, was the need for providing two sets of such institutions, one for white and the other for Negroes, under Federal Supreme Court decisions holding that Negroes are entitled to equal educational opportunities with whites.

Mr. Caldwell and Gov. Chauncey Sparks of Alabama replied that this difficulty could be met in the same way that the question of admitting Negroes to State Colleges in the South had been solved, which is by providing public funds for education of Negroes in comparable grade institutions outside the State that will accept them.

Governor Sparks, who is leaving office this year, and J. V. Norman, counsel to the Southern Governors' Conference, reported that there was a good prospect that the railroad rate litigation would be ended by the time the next conference was held.

Both expressed optimism that the decision would support the Southern States' argument that the present rates discriminated unduly in favor of the Northeast, particularly New York, and against the South.

A favorable decision, Mr. Sparks said, would pave the way for further industrialization of the region and lessen its dependence on agriculture.

The present rate structure, he added, is "keeping us poor" by adding to the cost of every item bought in the South and cutting the price of every article sold by it.

St. Louis NAACP Backs City Refusal To Bar G. L. K. Smith

Defender 5-19-46 Chicago, Ill.

ST. LOUIS—Race-baiter Gerald L. K. Smith will address his "nationalist" cohorts in 20,000 seat Kiel Auditorium here May 28 and 29 with the tacit blessing of the St. Louis NAACP chapter.

The local NAACP took its stand—believed to be unprecedented—in opposition to 15 veterans, labor and civic groups who protested Smith's use of the hall to the city's Municipal Auditorium Commission.

In reporting the NAACP stand, Atty. David Grant said that the group joined the St. Louis Civil Liberties Commission in regarding the case as a freedom of speech test. The civil liberties group had declared that denial of free speech to Smith would "constitute a danger to any other minority which desires freedom of expression."

Grant also called for rigid police protection at the meetings to keep them from being disrupted.

The protesting groups contended Smith's appearance would incite freedom-loving citizens to riot and violence in an attempt to stop the meeting. Speakers branded Smith "an artful demagogue," an upholder of "religious and racial bigotry" and a purveyor of "Hitler hate tactics."

The last time America-Firster Smith spoke here, the auditorium was picketed by veterans and labor groups who hissed and booed Smith adherants. Three pickets were arrested as a result of scuffles.

Smith Gang Plot To Seize Girl Musicians

Race Bias Behind Threat To 'White' Band Members

Defender

By HOWARD B. WOODS
(Defender Staff Correspondent)

ST. LOUIS — An alleged plot by Gerald L. K. Smith's "America First" followers to seize two members of the famed Sweethearts of Rhythm all-girl orchestra, because they are believed to be white, was revealed to the Defender this week.

An informant who asked that his name be withheld stated that the plan was bared at a meeting of the anti-Negro Smith group here Sunday which he attended. According to his account, the two musicians are to be "arrested" at Rocky Mount, N.C., when the band appears there on June 17 in a "battle of music" with Andy Kirk's aggregation. The occasion is the annual June-German celebration, a community festival. The Rocky Mount sheriff had been instructed to "pick up" the girls in accordance with the plan, the Smith meeting was told.

Saturday 6-8-46

Manager Also Informed

Mrs. Rae Lee Jones, manager of the orchestra, which is currently playing here, told the Defender that she had been contacted by the informant and given the same warning.

In regard to the race of the two members designated for the legal kidnaping, Mrs. Jones stated that all of her girls had been signed up as Negroes, but that acceptance depended on musical ability and not race.

"The June-German has been in existence in Rocky Mount about 50 years and the Sweethearts have played there on several previous occasions without incident. If there is going to be trouble, I don't want to take the girls down there," Mrs. Jones said.

Chicago Illinois

The Gerald L. K. Smith group recently closed a two-day meeting here. Banned by Chief of Police James Mitchell, the organization was permitted to hold the session after Mark Eagleton, president of the Board of Police Commissioners, interceded. The assembly was picketed in an orderly fashion by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Veterans committee and other groups.

G. L. K. Smith Plea On 'Civil Rights' Snubbed By Clark

Defender

WASHINGTON—Rabble rousing Gerald L. K. Smith, national director of the America First party, failed to impress U.S. Attorney General Tom Clark Tuesday, with his tale of being denied his civil rights at a recent meeting in Chicago.

In a statement issued after talking with Smith, Clark said, "I listened to Mr. Smith's complaint and told him flatly no federal statute had been violated from what he told me and that I felt sure he would get justice in the Chicago courts." *5-25-46*

Smith said he is appealing a sentence of 60 days for contempt and other cases growing out of a disturbance at the Chicago meeting of the America First group. *Chicago Ill.*

He was cited for contempt after he distributed literature during the trial of his associate, Arthur Terminello, suspended Catholic priest. Smith was released on $2,000 bond and given until June 7 to appeal to the Appellate Court.

Gerald L. K. Smith Blasted for N.Y. Political Attack

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 10-19-46

Called 'Disreputable Demagogue' by Dewey, Ives, Who Pledge to Fight Intolerance

NEW YORK (NNPA) — Gov. Thomas E. Dewey and Irving M. Ives, Republican candidate for U. S. Senator, last week denounced Gerald L. K. Smith, "American First" leader, as a "disreputable demagogue" for his attack against Senator James M. Mead and Herbert H. Lehman, candidates for Governor and U.S. Senator, respectively.

In a joint statement they declared that Mr. Smith and his kind were the natural allies of Senator Theodore G. (The Man) Bilbo of Mississippi and of the Ku Klux Klan.

Nature of Attack Withheld

The exact nature of the attack Smith made upon the Democratic candidates was not disclosed, but it was said Smith was circulating among his followers in New York State, letters which reflected upon Senator Mead and Mr. Lehman.

Text of the Dewey-Ives statement follows:

"We regard Smith as beneath contempt and his attack on our opponents as an un-American act. Smith and his kind live on hate; they are the natural allies of Bilbo and the Ku Klux Klan and enemies of freedom in this country.

Fighters of Bigotry

"All our lives we have fought this kind of intolerance and bigotry. We shall continue to do so, exposing it and condemning it every time it lifts its ugly head in our society.

"There is no place in America for racial and religious prejudice, and no place for such base appeals in this campaign. Those who use it will be strongly rebuked by us and, we believe, by the people."

Solid Civic Front Halts Smith Rally In Minneapolis

Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 9-21-46

MINNEAPOLIS— Gerald L. K. Smith, leader of the anti-Negro, anti-Semitic America First party, was scheduled to talk here last week, but his plans were thwarted by a solid front of labor and civic organizations who picketed the Republican club and the Leamington hotel, the two places he tried to engage.

As Smith and 150 of his followers approached the Republican club to deliver a hate tirade, they were met by 300 aroused pickets. They found the doors to the building locked, and the engagement was cancelled.

Smith was defeated in his attempt to find another meeting place. The picket group of 300 strong, representing CIO and AF of L unions, the NAACP, the American Youth for Democracy and the American Veterans committee, followed the motley Smith crowd to the Leamington hotel and prevented him from shouting his poison there.

Minneapolis police did not give him protection, perhaps because the city has a mayor, elected by the labor vote.

Atlanta Negroes Lack Protection, Speaker Asserts

Richmond, Va. Times-Dispatch

ATLANTA, Feb. 16 — (AP) — The Atlanta chapter of the American Association of University Women today heard charges that white policemen in the city do not give adequate protection to Negroes.

Dr. Glenn Rainey, English professor at Georgia Tech told an association forum on the employment of Negro officers that instead of having confidence in the city's law enforcement department, Negroes have only fear of it.

2-17-46

According to association leaders, the forum was held in order to hear both sides of the question, which is soon to go before the Atlanta city council.

Atlanta Police Chief M. A. Hornsby said he had no comment on the question.

H. A. Yancey, city manager of Greensboro, N. C., one of 30 Southern cities to employ Negro policemen, told the group that the plan had been entirely satisfactory in Greensboro and Durham, N. C.

Yancey added, however, that the plan cannot be forced on any city government or police department since its success depends on full co-operation by white officials and police.

Georgia Candidates Urge 'White Supremacy' Laws

Afro American, Baltimore, Md.

ATLANTA — Former Gov. Eugene Talmadge and House Speaker Roy V. Harris, potential gubernatorial candidates, have demanded that a special legislative session be called to enact laws that will preserve "white supremacy" in the State. 3-30-46

principal with or without the knowledge of parents, induced students to work in private homes and exploited as being specially trained servants. This was emphasized a few weeks ago when it was shown that one of our schools is being especially used to train servants.

There is no objection to the children being trained for all kinds of home work, but not being exploited as in this instance in order to secure the plaudits of those of the opposite race.

Misdemeanor To Say 'Poor White Trash'

Atlanta, Ga. Daily World

Judge Bond Almand Friday upheld the Fulton County Criminal Court's conviction of Curtis Clarke who allegedly called a white woman passenger on a crowded trolley "poor white trash."

The hearing Friday was an appeal from a fine of $50 and a six months' jail sentence imposed last summer on Clarke by Judge John S. McClelland in Criminal Court.

Judge Bond stated that the words were "opprobrious and abusive and would tend to cause a breach of the peace" in this section of the country where they have an established meaning.

1-29-46

"The phrase 'poor white trash' has its origin and use.... in the south, and were first used by the Negroes in reference to white persons whose social and economic conditions and standards were lower than their own," said the judge.

The judge further asserted "This court is of the opinion that the words 'poor white trash' as the meaning is commonly understood by the people of this particular locality, are words that reflect upon the social and economic status of the person to whom they are used and are commonly understood to be derogatory in their nature...."

High Court 'Jim Crow' Decision Adds Fuel To Georgia Contest

Birmingham News, Alabama 6-5-46

ATLANTA, June 5—(AP)—The Supreme Court's anti-Jim Crow ruling has added fuel to the Georgia gubernatorial campaign in which Gene Talmadge at the outset made "white supremacy" an issue.

The scarlet-braced ex-governor, speaking at Cartersville, proposed to overcome the Supreme Court opinion by doing away with interstate buses in Georgia.

The court ruling applies only to interstate buses. Talmadge's plan is to put up ticket stations just 50 feet this side of the Georgia line. Passengers would be required to get out and buy new tickets to cross Georgia.

While Talmadge was describing his plan yesterday to shouts from the audience of "pour it on, Gene," Candidate James V. Carmichael, talked frankly to a South Georgia audience on the racial issue.

"Ever since I was 10 years old, old red suspenders has been running for office in Georgia on the race issue," Carmichael said at Tifton, in the heart of Georgia's "black belt."

"He has been trying to spread hatred for years, purely to get into office.

Birmingham News

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"HE HAS SAID EACH YEAR that if you didn't elect Talmadge there would be a mixture of races —but there has never been.

"The Negroes have been voting in Georgia general elections since the War Between the States. The Negroes have been legally eligible to hold office in Georgia since that time. Yet, Negroes have never ruled Georgia politics."

Wed

Carmichael said the Supreme Court has ruled that Negroes can vote in Democratic primaries and that segregation laws cannot be enforced in interstate bus travel and "there is nothing Gene Talmadge, nor anyone else can do about it."

The Cobb County former legislator and business man said he was just as steeped in Southern tradition as Talmadge, or more so, and added:

6/5/46

"I will say that as long as I am governor, Negroes will not attend white schools, there will be no interracial marriages, and there will be no mixing of the races in our institutions."

Candidate E. D. Rivers was scheduled to speak at the University of Georgia yesterday but postponed the speech until today.

Editor Advocates White And Colored Governments

Savannah, Ga. Tribune

EDITOR ADVOCATES WHITE AND COLORED GOVTS.

Editor J. C. Seymour of the Sandersville Progress cited the Negro college at Savannah in defense of his plan for separate race governments.

The Michigan Chronicle states that:

"Two separate and distinct forms of local and state government; one for the whites and one for the Negroes, was advocated by J. C. Seymour, a Georgia newspaper editor, last month.

Tribune

"Writing editorially in the Sandersville Progress, Seymour predicted a dark future for white Georgians if the present trend of Negro voting continues. He advocates, therefore, that Negroes govern themselves because the ratio of whites to colored is approximately 60-40 in some counties of Georgia." 1-19-46

"Seymour cited the Negro college in Savannah (Georgia State College), in defense of his plan. He declared that the president of the college is now advancing the idea that the only solution to the race problem is for colored people to live in colored communities."

Some years ago it was reported that a certain local

'THAT'S CRIMINAL, SUH!'

'White Trash' Taboo Term In Ga.

Chicago Defender

ATLANTA (ANP) — Calling a person "poor white trash" is a criminal offense in Georgia, according to Judge Bond Almand of Fulton Superior Court.

It's not only what you say, but when and where you say it, Almand ruled in upholding a Fulton Criminal Court conviction of student Curtis Clarke, accused of a misdemeanor offense. For allegedly referring to a white woman passenger on a crowded street car as "poor white trash."

Interpreting the historical meaning of the term as it is commonly known in the South, Judge Almand held that such words were "opprobrious and abusive, and would tend to cause a breach of the peace."

Sat.

Supreme Court Decision

"This court is of the opinion that the words 'poor white trash' as the meaning is commonly understood by the people of this particular locality, are words that reflect upon the social or economic status of the person to whom they are used, and are commonly understood to be derogatory in their nature, and under some circumstances, depending on the time and place of their use, insulting and contemptuous. They are words that would call for resentment, and could likely lead to a physical disorder," the judge stated.

"The mere fact that such words were used in some other section of the country, where the terms have not been so used and would constitute opprobrious or insulting words, does not prevent them from being abusive where they have an established meaning as in this state."

Quoting a Supreme Court de-

...sion, Judge Almand said, "Words get their point and meaning almost entirely from the time, place, circumstances, and intent with which they are used."

"The phrase 'poor white trash' has its origin and use for nearly ... years in the South and was first used by the Negroes in reference to white persons whose social and economic conditions and standards were lower than their own."

"Nigger" Is Different

The decision was occasioned by an appeal filed by Clarke from a sentence of $50 and six months imposed last summer by Criminal Court Judge John S. McClelland for alleged violation of a law which provides that "any one who, without provocation, uses opprobrious words or abusive language, tending to cause a breach of the peace, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor."

Trouble reportedly arose on a crowded street car and seating arrangements in which Negroes suffered in convenience. Police arrested Clarke for allegedly making the statement: "We know poor white trash when we see them. She is nothing but poor white trash, and if we had her in Cincinnati we would make her do like we say. She would be glad to sit by us then."

Judge Almand made no reference to the common use of "nigger" by lawyers, court officials, and white citizens generally in Georgia and particularly around Atlanta, most of it being used in a derogatory manner. There was a difference of opinion among observers and commentators as to the origin of the term "poor white trash." Some believed it was first used by plantation owners and upper class whites, bent on keeping poor whites in their economic "place" during slavery times.

Canton, Ga. Tribune
July 12, 1946

Judge J. H. Hawkins Quotes Laws Forbidding Mixing of Races

There have been so many untruthful statements and misrepresentations about the legal question of the mixing of the races in Georgia, I wish to call attention to the following provisions of the law with reference thereto.

It has been said that unless one particular candidate for Governor, Mr. Talmadge, is elected, there will be a mixing of the races in the schools of Georgia.

The Constitution of our State, which was adopted by the people of Georgia last year, provides in Article 8, Section 1, Paragraph 1, page 77 of the Georgia Laws of 1945, as follows:

"The provision of an adequate education for the citizens shall be a primary obligation of the State of Georgia, the expense of which shall be provided for by taxation. **Separate School shall be provided for the white and colored races**

In the same volume of the Georgia Laws, on page 86, Article 13, Section 1, Paragraph 1, of this same Constitution provides:

"Any Amendment or amendments to this Constitution may be proposed in the Senate or House of Representatives and if the same shall be agreed to by two-thirds of the members elected to each of the two houses, such proposed amendment or amendments shall be entered on their journals, with the yeas and nays taken thereon. The General Assembly shall cause such amendment or amendments to be published in one or more newspapers in each Congressional District, for two months previous to the time of holding the next general election at which election members of the General Assembly are chosen . . and shall also provide for a submission of such proposed amendment or amendments to the people at said next general election, and if the people shall ratify such amendment amendments, by a majority of the electors qualified to vote for members of the General Assembly voting thereon, such amendment or amendments shall become a part of this Constitution."

Paragraph 2 of this same Article provides:

"No convention of the people shall be called by the General Assembly to revise, amend or change this Constitution, unless by the concurrence of two-thirds of all members of each house of the General Assembly. The representation in said convention shall be based on population as near as practicable. This Constitution shall not ed by the Convention until the by the Convention until the proposed revision, amendment, or change has been submitted and ratified by the people in **the manner provided for submission and ratification of amendments proposed by the General Assembly.**

It will thus be seen that under the express terms of the Constitution, "Separate schools shall be provided for the white and colored races."

The only way in which this constitution can possibly be changed is for the people of Georgia to vote to change it, after an amendment has been proposed either by a three-fourths vote of the General Assembly, or by a Constitutional Convention called by a three-fourths vote of the General Assembly. And the voters of Georgia will never consent to such a change.

Thus, any one claiming to be a lawyer who states that the mixing of the races in the schools depends upon who is elected Governor of Georgia is either deliberately misrepresenting the law and the facts or else is so ignorant of the law that his license to practice should be revoked.

And the same is true of the statement that there will be intermarriage between the races. Such a thing is prohibited by law, for Section 53-106 of the Code of the State of Georgia provides:

"It shall be unlawful for a white person to marry anyone except a white person. Any marriage in violation of this section shall be void."

Section 53-9902 of the same Code provides:

"If any officer shall knowingly issue a marriage license to persons, either of whom is of African descent and the other a white person, or if an officer or minister of the gospel shall join such persons in marriage, he shall be guilty of a misdemeanor."

And Section 53-9903 of the same Code provides:

"Any person, white or colored, who shall marry or go through a marriage ceremony in violation of the provision of section 53-106 shall be guilty of a felony, and shall be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary for not less than one year and not more than two years."

The General Assembly of the State of Georgia, composed of representatives elected by the people of Georgia is the only power which can repeal or change these laws. With these laws of force, there will be no intermarriage between the races, nor will these laws be changed.

I have quoted these provisions of the law from the volumes above cited, so the people can read them for themselves. If you would like to see the books from which these quotations are taken, any Justice of the Peace in the state of Georgia can show them to you, for he has both of the law books referred to. Go read them for yourselves, and don't be mislead or fooled by political racketeers and demagogues.

Respectfully,
J. H. Hawkins
Judge Superior Courts, Blue Ridge Circuit.

Lincolnton, Ga. Journal
Sept. 1946.

"THE TRUTH TO THE GEORGIANS"

In Richmond County, Georgia, of which Augusta is the county seat, Roy Harris, speaker of Georgia House of Representatives, is a candidate for re-election to the legislature, and in an advertisement in The Augusta Chronicle he says that negro organizations in New York and Washington are seeking to accomplish these three objects:

"First: Defeat the Southern congressmen and senators in order to pass the FEPC bill.

"Second: To do away with all segregation of the races and free the mixing of colored and white in the schools, the hotels, restaurants, trains and buses.

"Third: Do away with the law prohibiting intermarriage of the races."

Mr. Harris is telling his people the truth as it should be told to them.

What Mr. Harris says The News and Courier declares to be true because the organizations to which he is referring do not and will not unqualifiedly, explicitly., without evasion, without reservation, deny it. The objects he mentions are those for which cunningly, subtly, deceitfully, they strive.

To this time The News and Courier has not read or heard of any of the so-called "Liberal" organizations now sending political missionaries to the South and contributing a million or millions of dollars to excite the Southern colored people, or of any one of their prominent spokesmen or sportswomen-proclaiming opposition to miscegnation, social mingling or inter-marriage of white and colored people.

Were the complete breaking down or race separation, social as well as political, not their object, their purpose, they would say in words so plain that a wayfaring man, white or colored, though a fool could not err in getting the meaning.

Mr Harris is speaking plain the doctrine that will save white Georgia, unless in fear of losing handouts from a political party that crooks the pregnant hinges of its knee to the C. I. O.-PAC, white Georgia shall not stand by him. If it shall repudiate Harris and invite another period of scalawag-negro "Reconstruction", it will need another John B. Gordon.

Day was when South Carolina needed Gordon. Gordon came."

The spirit of Gordon came to Georgia on July 17th of this year.

This time the man was not named Gordon—the name was Talmadge.

Prominent Georgia Clergyman Disfavors "Lynch Propaganda"

The Whip, Miami, Florida
Sat. 8-24-46

(By Leon Lewis, Esq.)

The widespread "lynch" propaganda is certainly not favorable to the cause of harmonious relationship within the south," stated Dr. L. T. Sanders, pastor of the St. John Baptist Church in Waycross, Georgia. Rev. Sanders conducted revival services at Rev. S. A. Thomas' Mt. Sinai Baptist Church here last week.

"We must not let our emotions run haywire in situations of this kinw;" the minister advised, and we are not adhering to the principles of Christianiay or democracy when we accuse an entire state of speople as promoting and advocating lynchiig."

"We are as guilty as Talmadge and Bilbo in propaganda play-ups of racial friction and this can only incite more terrorism against our people".

"Incidents, as happened in Monroe, are undesirable and reflecting upon our civilization, but we must approach such instances with a greater degree of preventive ointment as a forestall for future happenings of this nature."

"We cannot placate anti-Negro hysteria by propagandizing such anti-white feeling and we must realize that all the white people in Georga are not mobists. Many of our grou pscattered throughout the state of Georgia enjoy the finest of inter-racial relationships with other races."

"It is not fair to the future of the majority of the citizens of Georgia to classify them in the same catagory or to even intimate that Georgia, entoto, is responsible for the Monroe incident."

In conclusion, Rev. Sanders stated, "We must not promote anti-racism, if we expect to succeed in stamping it out."

Rev. Sanders left for Waycross Friday. He also pastors a church il Tifton, where he says general race relationships are partially satisfactory.

Tolerance, but determined action lence against our people is the to forestall future acts of viomost effective approach," he stated.

49 1946 Illinois

Hutchins of Chicago

Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

President of University of Chicago Sits Tight as Discrimination Pollutes School

By JOSEPH D. BIBB

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

ROBERT MAYNARD HUTCHINS, famous proponent of advanced and liberal education, has been widely heralded as a great champion of democracy and liberalism. He was even awarded some kind of a merit token for advancing "race relations" by The Chicago Defender. But past and present revelations of his regime tend to prove that Robert Maynard Hutchins, president of the University of Chicago, has tolerated jim crow, remained silent upon restrictive covenants, and utterly failed to promote a higher and fuller opportunity for colored Americans at the university or anywhere else in America.

2-16-46

Mr. Bibb

Hutchins inherited an atmosphere of traditional aloofness to colored people when he assumed his duties as president of the famed university. He found a reactionary board of trustees, that had been influential in endowing the institution with millions of dollars in property that was stained with restrictive covenants. He found a systematic practice of jim crow and discrimination. He found the medical school controlled by men who barred colored students from taking their last two years of study at the institution. He was faced with subversive organizations located near the campus, who bitterly engaged in circumscribing many of the minority groups.

• • •

HE FORTHWITH revised the educational system, and was responsible for raising the requirements for academic and post-graduate work. Within a few years, Chicago University became one of the top-flight, if not the leading post-graduate school in the country. He abolished football and assailed the "over-emphasis placed upon sports." He projected himself into world politics and catapulted to fame and distinction. But he did nothing worthwhile to promote the cause of colored people. To the contrary, he has been freely accused of aiding and abetting the advocates of educational and residential restrictions.

Despite the unwarranted award conferred upon him, his interest in our minority group has been conspicuously nil. Now the fallacy has been exploded, and the Hutchins myth discredited.

In its current issue, The Chicago Defender blasts the university's medical school, and points an accusing finger at Hutchins, Sewell Avery, of Montgomery Ward fame, and other trustees. The "Anti-Discrimination Committee now charges the University of Chicago with "discrimination in contradiction to the professed liberal and democratic policies of the university." The charges made by the committee are not new. Prominent citizens of both races have made repeated appeals to Hutchins to abolish the narrow prejudices existing in the university's attitude toward colored people. Hutchins has been eloquent in his silence and contemptible in his adamant and arbitrary indifference.

2-16-46

IT IS well known that the university, backed by the Rockefeller millions, has come into possession of much real estate. It is also known that no move has been made or joined in to eradicate the covenant riding with the land whereby colored Americans are barred. At one time, important people in official capacity, aided and abetted by colored henchmen of Uncle Tom proclivities, sought to establish some sort of voluntary segregation among the darker Chicagoans. One of these colored minions is now prominent as executive secretary of a South Side Chicago business association. Hutchins never projected himself personally into these nefarious activities, but his general attitude brands and stamps him as not disapproving. But now that the issues have been made public, Hutchins will be revealed in his true role.

Provident Hospital in Chicago has been hampered for years because of an affiliation with the university. For years the relationship has been embarrassing because of the well known jim-crow philosophy of the university. Hutchins advised the hospital to sever its relationship. That has now been done. So now the university holds itself out as a beacon in education, but not as a force for good in human relations. Hutchins, with all of his charm, intellectual grandeur and national influence is seen as a reactionary, submerged in subversive philosophies and color phobia. Shame on him, and shame on the University of Chicago.

POLICE CORDON GUARDS HOME OF VETERAN WHO INVITED HIS NEGRO WAR BUDDY AS A HOUSE GUEST

The Black Dispatch

Mob of Whites Stone Grounds and Threaten To Lynch "Nigger Lover"

BECAME FRIENDS ON FASCIST BATTLEFIELD

Oklahoma City, Okla.

CHICAGO, — (ANP) — An irate all-white mob stoned the home of a white veteran here last week for having his Negro army buddy as his house guest.

Upon learning that Lt. Everett Batcher was a guest in the Auburn park home of Lt. and Mrs. Rice Carruthers, the landlady posted a sign that read, "Nigger move on." Further anti-Negro agitation is said to have been promoted by the Auburn Park Improvement association, a ghost organization of restrictive covenant advocates, through letters that urged the community to take action against the Carruthers.

Lt. Carruthers met Lt. Batcher while the two were engaged in fighting fascism on the battlefields. He invited his Negro friend to his home while visiting here. Lt. Batcher left the city Sunday, but troubled for Lt. and Mrs. Carruthers did not end. Sat.

A mob, composed of low-salaried white-collar workers, gathered in front of the Carruthers' home Wednesday evening to yell threats of "let's lynch the nigger lover" and hurled bricks through windows of the Carruther's residence.

Police responded immediately to a call from the veteran and the mob was dispersed. Acting Lt. Joseph O'Malley of Gresham police station said no violence had been committed, no peace disturbed, but that a police cordon had been thrown around Lt. Carruthers' home. 10-5-46

Auburn Park lies adjacent to Princeton park, a thriving Negro community, and considerable fear of Negro invasion of the Auburn park district is said to be one of the reasons for intense anti-Negro sentiment of Auburn park residents.

I. W. Dunn, head of the Auburn Park Realty company, described the Auburn Park Improvement association as "a civic bunch," but others brand the organization as a hate movement.

Negro Problem Is Told In All Its Raw Tragedy

Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.

A Review by Robert A. Warner

Sun 8-18-46

BLACK METROPOLIS: By St. Claire Drake and Horace R. Cayton. 752 pp. Harcourt, Brace & Co.

This book presents a comprehensive study of the second largest Negro community in the United States, the Chicago community. The breadth and detail of the study are remarkable. The care and scientific techniques are beyond just cavil. Since the authors present the raw facts about caste in the metropolis of mid-West democracy, there is comedy, pathos, irony and social tragedy. There is, also, an essay, as in a test tube, of what may lie ahead for America.

Attempts to influence ineluctable chance by resort to "live lodestones," sex charms, or "Dr. Pryor's Holy Floor Wash and House Spray," which is guaranteed to find rents, draw crowds and "eliminate the evil works of the Devil," are merely funny. But when one learns that in the uneducated Negro class secure jobs for men are few, that women support the families by common labor and domestic service, and that during the depression there was justification for the barbershop joke that the Negro national anthem was "I Can't Give You Anything But Love, Baby," one may understand. And humor touches pathos. When the whole story of the job ceiling is unfolded (the level of employment beyond which known Negroes may not aspire), when one learns the resultant incomes and what they will buy in prejudice-inflated rent for one-room, kitchenette apartments (even with two families sleeping in a room), one understands better the desperate effort to get money. Gambling on the numbers is widespread—information on the policy business is full and well documented—and it is no wonder, since from the bottom almost to the top of their class structure, Negroes have American aspirations of living, without American incomes.

Besides money, Negroes lack prestige. They may be able and proficient, educated, moral and refined as individuals, but as Negroes they are "untouchables." Therefore, Negro society offers heightened honor and prestige for success against the obstacles and demoralization to which they are subject. Their upper and middle class groupings are particularly exclusive, and the social rituals are elaborate. Indeed, with this heightened emphasis, they may seem to caricature white society, and all society.

It may also be amusing (to whites) that Negroes share, to a degree, our prejudice for lightness of color. Successful individuals may try, other attractions being equal, to marry lighter, even white, wives or husbands. One of the most interesting sections of the book contains life history material on successful and unsuccessful inter-racial marriages. But in Chicago light color brings not only prestige but money through passing for white as the book proves. We may laugh, but God's smile must be ironic. For we profess and teach, even these dark people themselves, the Christian-democratic dogma that all men are brothers equal in honor before God.

The tragedy may come, and has come, out of the bitterness induced by this social hypocrisy. Negroes have been patient with the progress they have made, they do not ask the impossible, but in this dangerous, postwar period, the authors warn, "A racial radicalism may well up in Black Metropolis if Negroes feel that the second World War liberated the world but did not 'advance the race.'" And Richard Wright warns in his introduction that the next world war could be a race war. This feeling is not the product of inflammatory race leadership or newspapers, it pervades the whole people in reaction against caste.

What do the Negroes want? They want, say Drake and Cayton, equality of civil rights and of economic oppor-

tunity for jobs, homes and the pursuit of happiness. Race pride prevents them from formal advocacy of intermarriage or even relief from the humiliation of social discrimination for inborn color. However, the Chicago Negroes ask "equal, unsegregated access to all places of public accommodation; the protection of the rights of those Negroes and whites who may wish to associate together socially, and they want to see the pattern extended to all of America—including the South."

Civil Action Considered in Case of Drake U: Student

Iowa Bystander
Des Moines Iowa

Civil rights action is under advisement in the case of Miss Liola Lyons, 18-year-old Drake University student, who was picked up by police officers about 10 p. m. on the night of Feb. 10 and taken to the police station because "she was believed to have been a white girl in the company of a Negro," the Rev. J. J. Hawkins, brother-in-law of the girl, commented this week.

On the basis of the questions she and her escort, Sgt. David M. Davies, were asked at the police station, before she was released—with "no explanation," they are of the same opinion.

Thur 2-21-46

In an interview with Marine Sgt. Davies before he left for Chicago, Ill. last week, he informed how police officers stopped them that Sunday night as they were walking in the vicinity of Locust street and the Coliseum building.

"Someone from a squad car yelled, 'hey come over here,' when Davies said he spoke up and the officers said they were talking to the girl.

Miss Lyons said these officers questioned her about her age and asked her where she was going and then told her to get into the squad car—which she did.

Marine Sgt. Davies said he protested, telling them that he was responsibe for Miss Lyons' and asked to go along but these men told him to "get on down the street."

When he asked them for their number so hat he would know for whom to ask at the police station, these officers told him to "mind his business."

Davies said he walked to the police station, (several blocks away) and officers were questioning Miss Lyons —asking her about when and where she met him.

The Marine said the officers asked him if she was white or colored—to which he answered—"he didn't ask." They also asked him if Miss Lyon's brother-in-law (the Rev. J. J. Hawkins) was "white or colored." He said he told them that the minister was colored.

Both Miss Lyons and the Marine were incensed over their experience with the white officers and Miss Lyons, who came to the city last August to live with her sister and brother-in-law while she attends school, told the minister that she felt embarrassed to face the public—until they knew all of facts of these officers picking her up.

Thurs 2-21-46

She is a physical science major and a junior at Drake university.

The Rev. Mr. Hawkins, pastor of the Ninth Street Christian church and officer of the Interdenominational Alliance said the Alliance has offered its services in the case.

The Mixed Racial Picnic Proposal

Courier-Journal, Louisville, Ky.

Having read in The Courier-Journal of July 1[?] of Mayor Taylor's action in regard to the racially mixed picnic of the Youth in Action Committee at Shawnee Park, I should like to express my indignation and disgust at such a bigoted decision.

The Mayor may think that he is speaking for all of the white citizens of Louisville, but in the few hours since the article appeared, I have heard strong expressions of disagreement with the Mayor's attitude from a number of educated and well-informed people.

I think the Mayor should explain his statement that "a favorable decision might well lead to just the kind of racial strife we are trying so hard to avoid." I fail to see how a picnic of boys and girls, Negro and white, could arouse "racial strife" unless adults interfered and stirred up race hatred. Incidentally, is there a City ordinance denying Negroes the right to use any of the City parks? Sat.

Bilbo tactics are not condoned by all white people, and it is ridiculous to think that the interracial question can be solved by segregation. Mr. Taylor should realize that he does not have the support of the whole community in his stand on this issue. He is evidently not aware of the increasing number of white people, in the South as well as in the North, who uphold the rights of Negroes and have pledged themselves to promoting harmony between the races. 7-20-46

MIRIAM NICHOLAS.
Louisville.

49 1946

Kentucky (Mason-Dixon Society)

[To] the Mason-Dixon Society.

Courier-Journal

1-17-46

I wish to reply to the letter published in your paper under the caption "The Mason-Dixon Society Again," written by Virginia Bayard of Washington, D. C. Not knowing anything about the Mason-Dixon Society for the Advancement of White People, I believe the society should revise its title to "The Mason-Dixon Society for the Further Oppression of Persons Not White."

Fear and ignorance have played their part in the past and caused my people to grasp any legislation or politician or party which seemingly would better our lot. Fear is still with us but ignorance is not so prevalent as in former years. To my way of thinking, and I have talked to many persons of both races, the F.E.P.C. bill is a stumbling block in the progress of all persons, both white and colored. The Constitution provides for the very same things for which the bill applies. Why have a Constitution if it means nothing.

Have the members of the Mason-Dixon Society tried to alleviate the social distress caused by the war, unemployment, housing conditions or lack of proper educational opportunities as they have tried to divert the colored population from a chance to earn a decent living? Since one race can hardly live without the other, it is high time both white and colored persons come to some common and mutual understanding, just as the white and colored soldiers did during the war in Europe. Ask those fellows who shared with whom when the chips were down. We had a common cause and death was always imminent regardless of color or creed. Since the survival of all races in these days is foremost should we not try anything that will bring us closer together in mutual good will?

A COLORED E.T.O. VETERAN.

Louisville.

Cops Break Up Interracial Gathering

Daily Worker
New York, N.Y.

Special to the Daily Worker

BALTIMORE, July 15.—Police and a landlord collaborated Sunday in the breaking up of an inter-racial gathering in the home of Bernard "Whitey" Goodfriend, executive secretary of the American Youth for Democracy here.

Prior to the incident, the AYD had held an inter-racial swimming party at the public beach, at which members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the CIO United Electrical Workers and the National Maritime Union were guests.

Tues. 7-16-46

After the swimming party the group had gone to Goodfriend's home for a social evening. The landlord saw the mixing of Negroes and whites and called the police who broke into Goodfriends home without a warrant and ordered those present to leave. Yesterday the landlord handed Goodfriend an eviction notice for Aug. 10.

The AYD has retained a lawyer to fight the eviction and has issued a statement branding the police action a violation of Constitutional liberties.

Blinded By Race Hate, Fights Sons Over Negro Friend

Defender
Chicago, Ill.
Sat. 8-31-46

SPRINGFIELD, Mass. — So deeprooted and unreasoning is the race prejudice of Malcolm McLean, 67, that it turned him against his war veteran sons, and resulted in a bitter street fight which landed him in district court, here last week.

When his two boys, who served in the European theatre during the war came home, they brought a guest along. The guest was a Negro, a man whom they had grown to respect under the duress of battle.

McLean ordered the Negro from his home, but the two sons came to their friend's defense. So obstinate was McLean's hatred that the affair resulted in a bloody street fight, which finally brought the father to cor

Michigan Minister Hits Racism; Fired

Black Dispatch
Oklahoma City, Okla.

PORT HURON, Mich. — (ANP) — For having the audacity to speak out boldly denouncing racial discrimination in this community and a plea for tolerance and fair-play in a sermon, the Rev. Jonh Safran, white, pastor Marysville Methodist church here, was summarily dismissed from the pastorate of his church by the trustees.

Rev. Safran preached the baccalaureate sermon to the graduating class of Marysville high school. In his sermon, "Christ or Chaos," he said the whole community which countenanced discrimination against Negroes shared the responsibility for the deplorable conditions under which Negroes live in the area. Sat

He cited instances of gross discrimination and named two industrial plants where Negroes are refused employment, although he said, "the FEPC had sought to end discrimination" and that Negroes could find employment in only two plants here. Mr. Safran, who headed up an interracial committee looking into the economic, social and living conditions of the 1500 Negroes here, based his statement on the findings of this committee after a careful survey. This committee of the Port Huron Ministerial association sought to do something about these discriminatory practices and Mr. Safran thought there was no better time and place to get his message across than when talking to young people into whose minds he hoped to instill tolerance and justice while acquainting them with the true conditions of some of their fellow citizens. 6-29-46

Mr. Safran, a former lawyer who turned minister "for the good I could do for my fellow man" evidently brought down the ire of City Manager James Galloway, when he named the two nationally known industries whom he took to task in his racial plea. It is reported that it was Galloway who used his influence on the church officials who told Rev. Safran, "you've gone too far," and demanded his dismissal.

The Detroit Methodist conference was in session here at the time of this upheaval and seemed to be strangely silent on the matter the first few days, but later it is reported that when the ousted minister, who is a member of the conference, appeared before the body and is said to have stated: "I will not be stopped from preaching what I think I ought to talk about," that Christianity begins at home and that Marysville should give Negroes jobs and an equal chance for happiness, the social action fellowship of the conference came to his rescue and planned to intercede for the pastor. 6-29-46

The Negro ministery throughout the state- has become aroused. The Rev. Charles A. Hill, pastor Hartford Avenue Baptist church and president of the NAACP, and the Rev. T. T. Timberlake, head of the Baptist Ministerial alliance, both of Detroit, sent wires to the Methodis conference protesting the removal of Rev. Safran. Mr. Hill declared: "Christianity is on trial," while Rev. Timberlake asked them to stand by the minister and "make the Kingdom of God operate in this instance."

Liberal Pastor Asked to Resign

The Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

By STAFF CORRESPONDENT

Sat. 6-22-46

PORT HURON, Mich.—A resolution demanding the resignation of the Rev. John D. Safran, white pastor of Marysville Methodist Church, for publicly denouncing racial discrimination in his community, was passed by the Marysville Church Council, it was revealed last week at the Detroit Methodist Conference (white) here.

The trustees by an 11 to 1 vote decided to request the Conference to remove the liberal pastor, the day after he rapped the backward economic, social and living conditions of 1,500 colored inhabitants of South Port Huron near Marysville.

The Rev. Mr. Safran made the attack in a baccalaureate sermon to the white high school graduating class and their parents, based on a survey conducted by an interracial committee of the Port Huron Ministerial Association which he headed.

Backed by Liberals

A former lawyer, the pastor said he had been warned shortly after he began his pastorate, by City Manager James Galloway, to "lay off sermons on race problems." He is a native of Detroit and was associated with Maurice Sugar, white, labor attorney and liberal.

Using as his theme "Christ or Chaos," the Rev. Mr. Safran scored the denial of employment of colored workers by Marysville industries and firms in St. Clair, Mich. He deplored the fact that they could work only in two foundries and a brass works here.

The Detroit Methodist Conference formed a committee last week to defend and support the pastor. The Conference branch of the Methodist Federation for Social Justice also voted to sustain his attack on racial discrimination.

Mississippi Negroes Gird For War With Jim Crow

Chicago Defender

By JOHN LeFLORE
(Defender Staff Correspondent)

JACKSON, Miss. — Mississippi Negro leaders who "shocked" the governor and legislature of the state two weeks ago with their demands for equal opportunities, the ballot, and abolition of the poll tax, will meet here again May 11-12.

The meeting will mark the second phase of the struggle against the numerous injustices suffered by Negro citizens in this state.

List Program

Included on the agenda of the next parley will be the following subjects:

A nine-month school term for all public schools.

Creation of a fact-finding committee to gather comprehensive data about Mississippi's dual educational system.

Establishment of nursery schools for children of pre-school ages.

Free lunch program for school children.

Compulsory education law for young people from 6 to 21 years of age.

A lecture program to stimulate interest in problems confronting the Negro group.

Notify Governor

Notice was served on Governor Thomas Bailey and the state legislature two weeks ago by the group that Mississippi Negroes would insist that they be considered on an equitable basis with others in the sharing of public funds for education. Other resolutions adopted asked for "a free and untrammelled ballot" by abolition of the poll tax, an end to political disfranchisement permitted by the white primary, and justice in the courts.

The Negro leaders intimated in their pleas to the governor and legislature that this would not be another abortive effort upon the part of colored citizens to secure the rights to which they are entitled. Legal procedure will be utilized when it is found that there will be no attempt by the state's chief executive and lawmakers to correct existing evils, a spokesman for the citizens advised.

It was pointed out in the resolutions that "Negroes of Mississippi receive only one-tenth of the educational benefits accorded whites and even less, in many instances, although the Negro population equals the whites."

Taxation without representation was charged in the assertion that "this state taxes both whites and Negroes equally to build schools, but uses all the money as a rule so raised, to build white schools only. The Negro," the resolution charged, "is left to appeal to charity for money to build a little one or two room school shack for himself, or go without, while practically all white schools in this state teach 12 grades, and constitute prep school academies."

It was also revealed that all white children ride to and from school in rural sections, while all Negro school children walk. Only two or three of the 82 counties in the state are said to provide bus transportation for Negro children.

The Negro leaders charged that more than $100 has been invested in **Mississippi for higher educational facilities for whites to every dollar spent likewise for Negroes. "White teachers are paid three times as much as Negro teachers, and in some parts of the state four times as much," the governor and** legislature were reminded.

The Negro wants no special taxes levied for his schools, another resolution indicated. It was said that he merely wants "his just and rightful pro-rata share of all monies levied by the state, counties and municipalities for educational purposes."

A "full-fledged" state university for Negroes, equal to the University of Mississippi "in all respects" was asked for in the resolutions. Regional colleges for Mississippi Negroes to study in other states were disapproved by the body.

Equal educational opportunities for Negro war veterans were also demanded.

The first reaction of the Mississippi legislature to the resolutions was the appointment of a Senate-House committee to try and find ways and means to continue the political disfranchisement of the Negro group. Revision of the state's laws to permit retention of the Democratic white primary will be the duty of the committee.

A. W. Wells, Jackson veteran railway mail clerk, is chairman of the colored state-wide group against Mississippi Jim Crow policies, and Mrs. T. B. Brown is secretary. Forty-four of the state's 82 counties were represented at the first meeting which was held in Jackson two weeks ago.

Social Equality Aim of Tracts, Petition Charges

Atlanta Constitution, Atlanta, Ga.

INVERNESS, Miss., May 30—(INS)—Methodist church school literature was branded Thursday as being "slanted politically and racially" by the Greenville conference of the church, meeting in Inverness.

The charge was presented to the Methodist Council of Bishops in the form of a petition which was adopted by a 35 to 3 vote.

Charging that such literature during the past two years had become "more political and aimed at social-equality," the Conference said that the literature offends Southern church students.

The petition declared:

"We have lived peacefully with other races for centuries and perhaps are better qualified to know just how to live with those people in brotherly love than some who prepare the material."

The Conference delegates pledged themselves as still "loyal members of the Methodist Church." The question of changing the Sunday school literature was left to the "wisdom of the Council of Bishops."

16-Yr.-Old Hi School Girl In Bed After Beating In Clash Of School Children

Memphis World, Tennessee

JACKSON, Miss.—(SNS) —

INTER-RACIAL COMMITTEE TO STUDY SITUATION

A 16 year old Lanier High School girl, Amy Spurlock, daughter of Mrs. Ruby Spurlock, of 333 Julliene Street, was in bed and out of school for several days after being beaten by a policeman last Wednesday in a clash of white and Negro school children near the viaduct on lower South Gallitan Street. A number of other Negro school children at the scene were stopped and kicked by the policeman.

After being beaten the young girl along with Jessie Johnson, male of Smith Roberson school. The young girl was charged with assault and abusive language and fined $40.00 and the boy with disorderly conduct and fined $25.00, which their parents paid to obtain their release.

According to reports the clash last Wednesday, resulted from a series of minor incidents between White and Negro children at the south Gallitan Street viaduct. Last Wednesday the white students, some of whom the reports said were armed with black jacks me the Negro students in force the fight starting when one of the boys made an attempt to hit Amy Spurlock with a black jack.

While the two were engaged policeman came on the scene, one of whom knocked the young girl down and after kicking her several times dragged her to the car by the hair.

Among others who were kicked and slapped were Pearl Johnson, Trenton Carey and Rufus Maning all of Lanier High School.

None of the white students were arrested during the incident early this week following further investigation by police authorities, according to reports, a number of the white students were arrested and fined and steps taken to prevent a recurrence of the incident. A refund of $15 is said to have been made to Mrs. Spurlock.

In the meantime the incident was a major topic of discussion at the meeting last Wednesday morning of the Board of Directors of the New Farish Street YMCA and a large number of other Negro leaders.

Since practically everyone present was a member of the Jackson Negro Chamber of Commerce plans for a meeting of the Race Relations Committees of the white and Negro Chambers for the purpose of discussing conditions about which Negroes are becoming increasingly concerned here were discussed. It will be the first item to be considered at the meeting of the Negro Chamber next Tuesday night.

Members of the Inter-racial Negro Chamber of Commerce are W. H. Williams, I. S. Sanders and Jack Young. Members of the white Chamber of Commerce are Mayor Leland Speed, Mayor W. Calvin Wells, Mr. Pete Laired and Mr. Guy Low.

Another Compliment To Communism

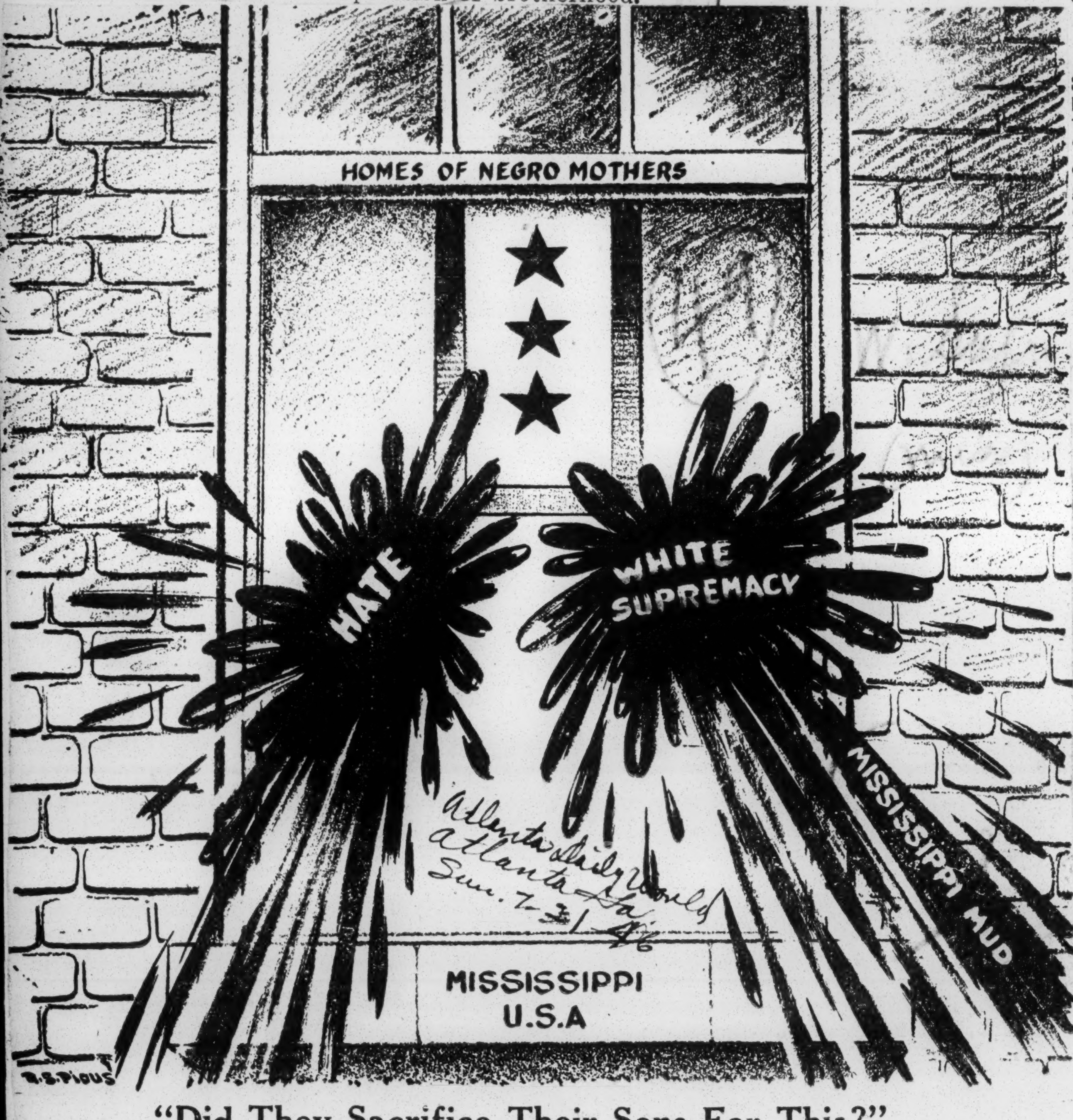
Church communicants down in the Bible belt paid high tribute to Communism last week when the Millsaps Methodist Church, Jackson, Mississippi, forgetting that it is written in the Holy Writ that all races were created "out of one blood," voted to ask the Council of Bishops to investigate publication of church literature pertaining to "social equality among races."

In their protest to the council, the irate Mississippians declared that the "social equality" literature is "communistic in its teaching," and they will doubtless insist upon some sort of pontifical postulate upon the question of blood banks, segregation and jim crow.

Down on the banks of the Pearl river there is definite conviction that there is a kitchen in God's heaven, and a dump ground in the rear, where all of the darker races will be ghettoed out yonder beyond the stars. The Black Dispatch commends the reading of the 12th chapter of Numbers by the millions of white people residing down in the Bible belt. Thorough digestion of God's admonition to Aaron and Mariam should convince the Mississippians that the Almighty frowns upon those who seek to make distinctions between races, and that God brought a curse upon Mariam because she opposed the individual right of Moses to marry a black woman.

We are, of course, discussing the question of social equality upon the level of white thinking and understanding. We consider social equality an entirely different thing from the narrow level of matrimony. The overall picture of hu

man equality is vested in a man's ideals and objectives. A man, who incidentally may be as black as a crow, is the social superior to another human being who may be as white as the drifting snow, if he justifies his existence and God's purpose by living a cleaner life, by helpfulness to others, and through a finer and richer expression of brotherhood.



"Did They Sacrifice Their Sons For This?"

Girl, 16, Is Beaten By Police After Clash Of White, Negro Students

The Informer
Houston, Texas
Sat 3-9-46

JACKSON, Miss. — (ANP) — A 16-year-old Lanier High school girl, Amy Spurlock, daughter of Mrs. Ruby Spurlock, was in bed and out of school for several days after being beaten by a policeman last week following a clash of white and Negro school children near the viaduct on lower south Gallitan street. A number of other Negro school children at the scene were stopped and kicked by the policemen.

After being beaten, the young girl along with Jessie Johnson, male student of Smith Robinson school, was arrested and taken to jail. The girl was charged with assault and abusive language and fined $40, and the boy was charged with disorderly conduct and fined $25. Their parents paid the fines.

According to reports, the clash resulted from a series of minor incidents between white and Negro children at the south Gallitan street viaduct. The white students, some of whom the reports said were armed with blackjacks, met the Negro students in force, the fight starting when one of the boys made an attempt to hit Amy Spurlock with a blackjack. While the two were engaged policemen came on the scene, one of whom knocked the young girl down and after kicking and striking her several times dragged her to the car by the hair.

Sat 3-9-46

Among others who were kicked and slapped reportedly were Pearl Johnson, Tenton Carey and Rufus Manning, all of Lanier High school.

None of the white students was arrested during the incident. Early this week, following further investigation by police authorities, according to reports, a number of the white students were arrested and fined and steps taken to prevent a recurrence of the incident. A refund of $15 is said to have been made to Mrs. Spurlock, mother of the girl victim.

In the meantime the incident was the major topic of discussion at the meeting last week of the board of directors of the New Farish Street YMCA and a large number of other Negro leaders.

BILBO DENOUNCES DEWEY

Times New York
N.Y.

Counter-Attacking, He Says New York Is Worse Than KKK

WASHINGTON, Aug. 20 (AP)—Senator Bilbo of Mississippi lashed back at Governor Dewey of New York today with a statement that "there have been more horrible crimes committed by the organized gangsters of New York than were ever chargeable to the Ku Klux Klan."

Mr. Bilbo said he had read in the newspapers that "ex-presidential candidate Dewey" had declared before an American Federation of Labor convention in Rochester yesterday that "there will be no Bilboism" in New York while he is Governor. Wed. 8-21-46

"I can return the compliment and extend the time," Senator Bilbo declared. "There will be no Deweyism in Mississippi as long as I live.

"Deweyism to the people of my State means FEPC, negro social equality, intermarriage between whites and blacks, hoodlumism, gangsterism, rape and the life of some poor negro, on an average of one a night, year-round, snuffed out in blackest Harlem."

Mississippi Seething With Hatred of Negro

Amsterdam News New York, N.Y. Sat. 8-31-46

JACKSON, Miss. (ANP)—Bilbo's Mississippi again leads the south in the most recent marathon of hate and terrorism against the Negro, with four racial volcanoes within its boundaries. Scenes of incendiary flares this past week have been Hazlehurst, Collins, Magee and Centerville.

In Magee, Bill and Garfield Craft, Negroes, surrendered to police, ending a manhunt for them by a 300-man, heavily armed white posse. The search began after the Craft brothers had an altercation with a white man on Saturday night, and were charged with wounding a policeman. Only intervention of the department of justice, the NAACP, and Acting Gov. Fielding H. Wright, saved them from a lynching.

Wounded Town Marshal

Now jailed here for safekeeping, the Craft brothers are charged with wounding Town Marshal Dickerson, Deputy Sheriff Glen Hester, Orce Ainsworth and Glaston Sullivan, as the two protected themselves and their families from a mob which surrounded their home.

Lives of the Craft brothers were believed to have been saved when they successfully eluded their man and bloodhound pursuers until they could surrender. Word of the indictment, reaching Washington meanwhile, brought orders from Asst. U. S. Atty. Gen. Lamar Caudle cautioning the local peace officers to stay within the law in the matter.

In Hazelhurst, an AME minister, the Rev. E. D. Scott, was reported saved from a severe beating when two unidentified white men intervened as a local police officer was assaulting him.

Parking Mixup Blamed

Difficulties between the minister and a local white man are said to have arisen over a parking jam when the latter was requested to pull up so that the minister's car could be moved. Apparently objecting to this request, witnesses declare the white man immediately began to use abusive language and beating Rev. Scott while the latter was still in his automobile.

Centreville is allegedly aroused because a police officer, Dick Gayle, attempting to protect a Negro man from a vicious assault by a white veteran, was forced to shoot the vet in order to protect himself. John Reese, the ex-soldier, died as a result of his wounds. He reportedly attacked the Negro in a local hardware store.

Attempted rape in Collins was said to be the basis for a shooting affray between the sons of a colored minister and two whites. The two whites taken into custody on the complaint of the girls are booked as Ernest E. MacDonald Jr., 20, and Oscar Moore, 18. Names of the girls and their brothers were withheld.

Dismissal Of Beating Case Ends 15-Minute Dixie Trial

The Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 7-13-46

BRANDON, Miss.—The day before several thousand Negroes marched courageously to the polls in Mississippi to cast votes in the state's Democratic primary, two white men, charged with beating a Negro woman here, were discharged.

The men, F. M. Floyd and Webb Neal, both of this city, were found not guilty at preliminary hearings held before Justice of the Peace H. R. Spragues Monday afternoon.

At the farcical 15-minute hearing which included the time required to impound a six man jury, a statement made by Mrs. Matilda Pinkney, the victim, who was unable to appear in court, was read, and her doctor, W. H. Watson, testified. Also appearing for the prosecution were two white citizens and the night marshal.

Troy Mashburn, local attorney, represented the defendants. The charges against the two men were filed by Sheriff H. G. Laird, after the beating was brought to his attention by friends and relatives of the victim.

Mrs. Pinkney, daughter-in-law of Holly Shepherd, janitor at the Rankin County Courthouse for a number of years, was enroute home from church Sunday evening, June 23 when two white men she said were Floyd and Neal overtook her on a dark street.

In her statement, she declared they said: "Nigger, don't you know that your kind ain't permitted on the streets in Rankin county after dark?"

Before she could make a reply or an outcry, the two attacked her, knocking her down, kicking and beating her repeatedly.

Her condition, when found, was so serious that physicians advised against transporting her to Jackson for hospitalization.

Mrs. Pinkney has resided in the county for years. In the absence of a more clearcut motive, local residents were inclined to believe that the inflammatory speeches of Senator Theodore G. Bilbo had influenced the white hoodlums who attacked her.

Two Arrested For Flogging

Negro Victim Critically Injured

JACKSON, Miss. — Two white men were arrested this week by the sheriff of Rankin County in connection with the brutal and unprovoked flogging of Mrs. Matilda Pickney and her husband Frank.

Jet 7-6-46

Sheriff Henry Laird announced that the men, F. M. Floyd and Webb Neal had been released on $300 bond and would be arraigned next week.

Meanwhile as a result of the severe beating given her, Mrs. Pickney, a prominent church worker, locally, was said to be in a critical condition. Physicians said she might lose the sight of one eye.

The recent assault on the Negro veteran Etoy Fletcher was not connected in any way with this one according to the sheriff. Fletcher in an affidavit to the NAACP said that he was flogged on the night of June 12 after he had attempted to register as a voter.

Fletcher has not been seen at his rooming place since shortly before the NAACP revealed receiving his report, has still not been located.

Mrs. Pickney told Percy Green, Negro newspaper editor of the Jackson Advocate who in turn reported it to the NAACP, that she and her husband had been assaulted by four white men as they were returning home from evening services. The men asked them if they knew that Negroes were not supposed to be on the streets of Rankin county after dark, and proceeded to beat them without waiting for an answer.

SEGREGATION IS COSTLY

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Missouri Pays Half-Million to Maintain Jim-Crow Status

NEW YORK—The price of segregation is high . . . even if the taxpayers in the State of Missouri don't realize it.

5-18-46

To date, they have paid $500,000 to graduate one Negro student from the School of Law, and ten from the School of Journalism, all-colored setups sponsored by the State at Lincoln University, and the interesting angle is that only six per cent of the State population is Negro.

Sat.

These facts are revealed in the May issue of Survey Graphic in an article, "The Price of Segregation," by R. I. Brigham.

MUST BE MET BY STATE

In 1938, Lloyd Gaines applied for admission to the Law School of Missouri. He was barred because he was a Negro. He carried his case to the U. S. Supreme Court, which ruled that all States must provide "equal educational facilities" for all qualified students.

It also ruled that this obligation could not be met by paying tuition in colleges and universities outside the State. In line with the decision, Mr. Brigham reports, Missouri established at its segregated institution, Lincoln University, a Graduate School and Schools of Law and Journalism.

Citing figures from official reports, Mr. Brigham shows that the faculty of the Law School received $17,650 in salaries in 1941 when it had thirty-five students. In the war year of 1943 although there were no students enrolled the school had to maintain a faculty payroll of $9,000 in order to remain on the inactive list of accrediting institutions.

$65,000 FOR BUILDING

The State of Missouri appropriated $65,000 for the journalism building and acquired a faculty with salaries totaling $14,040 to instruct three students in 1941, six in 1942 and fourteen in 1943.

Mr. Brigham points out that for the biennium 1939-40, $856,000 was appropriated for 1,228 students at Lincoln University ($697 per student) and $3,908,000 for 17,010 students at the University of Missouri ($229 per student). This practice, he says, will grow worse financially as qualified Negroes request training in engineering, mining, medicine, and other graduate fields.

Mr. Brigham concludes that while this is "justice to the Negro with a vengeance . . . such justice will not appeal to Missouri taxpayers" since it is forced on them "by Missouri's illogical desire to support a separate school system for a six per cent minority with a skin pigmentation which differs from that of the 94 per cent majority."

TAXPAYERS MAY OBJECT

While the war postponed action in the seventeen States affected by the Gaines' decision, all of them must now find a solution. If they follow the Missouri procedure, Mr. Brigham believes the taxpayers will find the cost prohibitive. Further, the Survey Graphic writer comments, they will be continuing a practice which "runs counter to the religion and to the political philosophy they profess."

"Strange Fruit" Plot Reversed in Case of Virginia Couple

Afro American
Baltimore, Md.

FREEHOLD, NJ—A real life drama with a reverse angle of "Strange Fruit" was revealed before Judge J. Edward Knight here on Thursday. 2-16-46

Miss Letty Hall, 18, and white, of Rocky Mount, Va., was given a suspended sentence of 12 months and ordered to go home after she was found guilty of living illegally with Eugene Moorman, colored native of her hometown, at 3 Lincoln Pl., Asbury Park.

The girl faces the prospect of becoming the mother of a child of which Moorman is the father.

Judge Knight said that her parents have sent county authorities a ticket for her to go home.

Moorman said that he wanted to marry the girl. The court delayed sentence on him for a week.

(Ed. Note: Rocky Mount, Va., is a small town where a white girl who went in for race mixing would hardly be welcome. Except in rare instances color and caste lines are maintained rigidly and there is widespread refusal to employ colored workers except in marginal jobs.)

Pupils Refuse Bid From DAR

Afro American
Baltimore, Md.

No Singing for DAR, Some Are Told

2-9-46

SPIRITUALS ASKED

Only Colored Picked at Four Schools

NEWARK—Remembering the barring of Hazel Scott, pianist, from Constitution Hall in Washington because of her race, parents of a number of children enrolled in schools here have refused to permit the pupils to sing at a meeting of Nova Casaerea, a Newark chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

The refusal came after pupils informed their parents that they had been asked to enter a choral group from four schools to sing at a meeting set for Friday at the New Jersey Historical Society Hall.

The singers are being selected entirely from colored children although there is no segregation in Newark schools. The youngsters are expected to sing spirituals.

Decision by Parents

It was learned that while many of the pupils wanted to decline the distinction, none acted expect upon parental instruction.

Miss Agnes Murphy, assistant director of Newark public school music, told the AFRO that there had been no recruiting for special colored talent to sing for the DAR.

Names 4 Schools

However, she named four schools from which quartets were selected to sing for the group. They included Robert Treat, Charlton St., Monmouth St. and Morton St. 2-9-46

Miss Murphy stated that the colored talented was chosen because "they can sing better" than other pupils.

Harlem Only Ethnic Unit Left In N. Y.

New York Amsterdam News 2-16-46

Years ago New York City used to be a cluster of colonies with races and nationality groups concentrated in specific neighborhoods. Then it was easy to point out where the Irish, the Italians, the Jews, the Poles, the Russians and other groups lived. But today these peoples have so spread themselves over the city that almost all of these special ethnic neighborhoods are now gone—with one exception. That exception is Harlem.

This was one of the chief conclusions of Dr. Neva R. Deardorff of the Welfare Council in the fourth of the Thursday evening lectures on "Human Relations in New York City" presented weekly by the Schomburg Collection of Negro Literature of the New York Public Library.

If residential and other restrictions were removed, Negroes no doubt would spread over the city as other groups have done and are doing.

2-16-46

Dr. Deardorff gave a wealth of statistical data on the charcteristics of the people of New York. One half of all New Yorkers are foreign born; 49% are Catholic; 32% Jews; 19% Protestant and only 6% are Negroes.

While the city of New York has comparatively few children and many older persons, Harlem not only has few children but few old people—thus a large middle group.

The next lecture will treat the question: are people with prejudice ill or diseased?

Pigmentation Gets Cop in Hot Water

Afro-American Baltimore Md.

BUFFALO, N.Y.—Police Commissioner Thomas J. McMahon is investigating the arrest of a white woman and two colored friends by a policeman who said he couldn't understand what the man could be doing with "two white women."

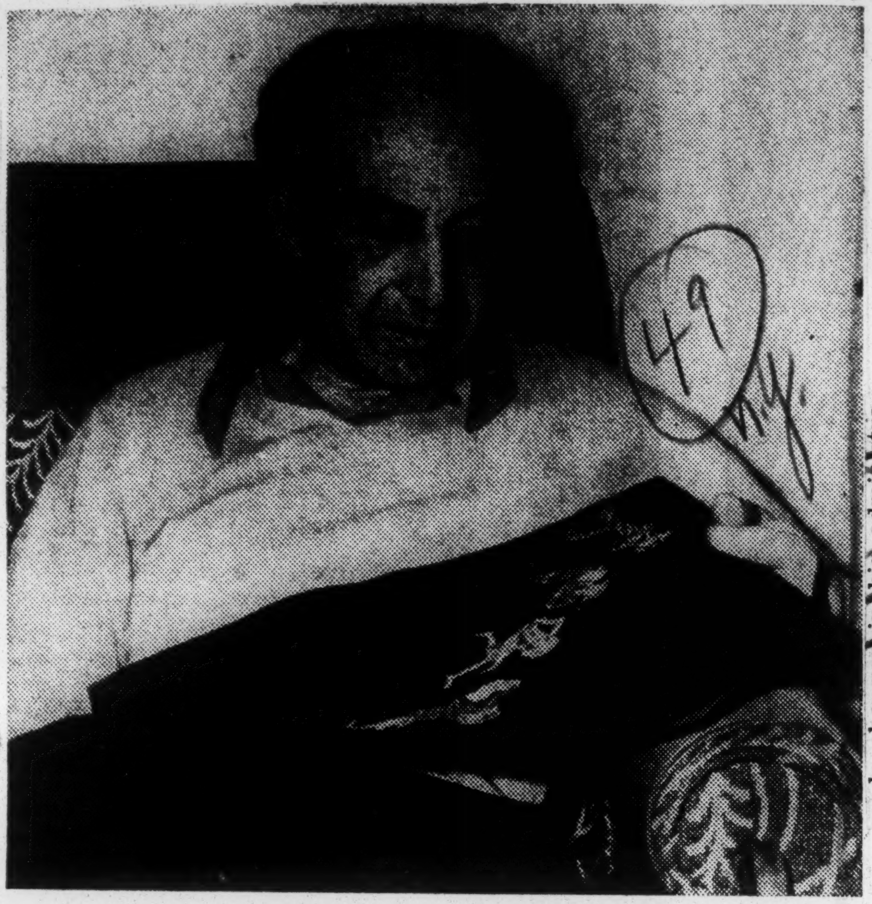
Actually, one of the women was colored, but the officer thought she was white. The colored girl, the white girl, and the man were returning from a union meeting.

3-30-46

Arrest Scored

Affidavits allege that the officer took the trio to Precinct Four on Sycamore St. and detained them for three hours without cause.

The Board of Community Relations brought the case to the attention of Commissioner McMahon, asserting that, "If what these people say is true, it constitutes a threat to the harmonious relations between the races."



Ben Zemach, stage director, who was attacked by hoodlums, rests in his Village apartment. Note bruise on face.

Anti-Semitic Hoodlums Beat Up Four in Village

P.M. N.Y., N.Y.

Cops Dismiss Assault as 'Just a Free-for-All'

1-25-46

By HYMAN GOLDBERG AND JAMES PARLATORE

Four men, all of them professional playwrights and stage directors, were beaten severely in the heart of Greenwich Village last Saturday by a band of eight men who accompanied each blow with anti-Semitic epithets.

No one has been arrested for the assaults, and the police said yesterday, airily dismissing the entire affair: "It was just a free-for-all; the fellows who did it were drunk."

The attack started when Ben Zemach, a slight, 43-year-old choregrapher and stage director for the Yiddish Theater Ensemble left the apartment of a friend at 110 Christopher St., in the Village. It was 2:30 a.m.

A man wearing an Army uniform came up to Zemach and, without saying a word, punched him in the eye, knocking him to the street. Another man, in civilian clothes, picked him up and held him while the man in uniform hit him again. When Zemach struggled and yelled for help, they dragged him into the hallway of 110 Christopher St.

1-25-46

Punched and Kicked

"Two other men joined them," said Zemach, who has been confined to his home since the attack, "and all of them took turns punching and kicking me, and calling me vile anti-Semitic names.

"They laughed and jumped around me, and they took turns punching me, yelling: 'Let me . . . let me . . .' One of them asked me if I had any money. I had less than a dollar, and when I offered them what I had they laughed at me. The man in uniform pushed me into a corner, and said: 'You little Jew bastard.' Somebody else searched my pockets."

Zemach said he managed to ring some of the apartment house bells.

"Then," he said, "someone said, 'Strip him, let's strip him.' Then one of the men kicked me in the groin, and when I doubled up someone hit me in the back of the head from behind and I lost consciousness."

When Zemach came to the men were gone. He went back to the apartment of his friend, Brett Warren, who is stage manager for the road company of *Deep Are the Roots*, and told what had happened to him. Warren, with John Berry, Hollywood director, and Ettore Rella, playwright, who were visiting him, rushed into the street to look for Zemach's assailants.

'Let's Get Them'

When they got to the street they heard someone shout: "Here come three more. Let's get them," and eight men ran up to them.

While the men were gone from the apartment, Mrs. Sue Warren and Mrs. Jessie Rella tried to get the police on the telephone. It took them 15 minutes to get Police Headquarters, but by that time the fight was over and the three men returned to the apartment, badly beaten by the gang which had outnumbered them more than two to one. 1-25-46

Seven or eight hours later, after he had been confined to his home by his physician with concussion of the brain, contusions of the jaw, bruises all over his body, and shock, Zemach says he first saw the police. The police came to see Rella two days after the fight.

At the Charles St. Station yesterday, one of the detectives assigned to the case said it was still being "investigated," although the principals haven't heard of any progress.

The detective was asked about Zemach's statement that his attackers were motivated by anti-Semitism.

"We don't have anti-Semitism here in the Village," he said.

CITY IS CALLED LAX ON RACE PROBLEMS

The New York Times

Citizens Committee on Harlem Charges Government Doesn't Know Where Job Starts

New York, N.Y.

SCHOOL BOARD CRITICIZED

Health Department Is Asked to Realize It Has Duty to Train More Negro Physicians

Jan. 2-26-46

The city government was criticized last night on its handling of race problems and accused of "not knowing where the job starts or ends." The City-Wide Citizens Committee on Harlem, 516 Fifth Avenue, announced its findings after seven "off-the-record" meetings arranged between city and State officials with more than 250 organizations, which have met weekly since Feb. 4 at the Society for Ethical Culture, 2 West Sixty-fourth Street. Mrs. Dorothy Norman of The New York Post was chairman.

The tenor of the discussion was critical, especially of the Board of Education and the State Commission Against Discrimination. It was also pointed out that the committee had been "lucky and unlucky" in arranging its meeting, since Mayor O'Dwyer on one occasion made changes in his administration a few hours before a meeting. The suggestion was made that "there was a lack of enthusiasm for the appointment of Dr. Edward M. Bernecker" to his short-lived post as Commissioner of Health. Jan. 2-26-46

Lack of Confidence Noted

Frank E. Karelsen Jr., a member of the board of directors, viewed by many as the moving force in the organization, said the committee had noted a "general lack of confidence expressed in the present Board of Education" and added that "the size of the board is under question."

"The hope is that a board of eleven to fifteen citizens would necessarily bring to the board persons from more diversified backgrounds and make for more democratic action," Mr. Karelsen declared. "The increased size of the board might also be instrumental in keeping the board on a policy-making level only."

He recommended "partial pay for members of the board, which now exists in many agencies like the City Planning and the State Commission Against Discrimination."

Mr. Karelsen proposed that legislation be enacted so that associate superintendents, "who act as a cabinet" to the superintendent of the Board of Education, can be removed by him at will. He criticized the present law which allows the associate superintendent to serve six years, or until he reaches the retirement age, and viewed this as a handicap in setting up a new school administration.

Mrs. Edith M. Alexander of the Mayor's Committee on Unity, the only Negro scheduled to deliver a part of the report of findings on Harlem problems, discussed public health, hospitals and sanitation, "since the incidence of certain diseases is higher in Harlem than throughout the city."

Asks More Negro Physicians

Because of the "dearth" of facilities to train Negro physicians, she asked that the Health Department be persuaded to see that "part of their duty lies in the direction of deliberately going out to train more Negro physicians than they now have on their staff." She asked a change in the general policy of Lincoln and Bellevue hospitals, to allow for the appointment of "qualified Negro physicians to various hospital staffs."

James M. Wolf, a member of the board of the sponsoring organization, declared that the State Committee Against Discrimination should "change its attitude toward its job" and asked that the State law be amended to end "secrecy and an excess of caution." He also suggested that organizations as well as individuals be allowed to file complaints where discrimination could be proved.

Power on the part of the State committee to investigate discrimination in colleges was also requested, and Mr. Wolf declared that people want work done against discrimination "in higher as well as lower levels of employment." He criticized the committee for over-publicizing its Buffalo, N. Y., achievements, and said that announcements that "advisory councils to the State Commission

Against Discrimination are being formed elsewhere" are being repeated too often, and do not go far in fighting racial discrimination. Edwin J. Lucas, director of the Society for the Prevention of Crime; Stanley Isaacs, City Councilman, and Charles A. Collier, executive secretary of the committee, also spoke. *Jun. 3-26-46*

Councilman Davis' Letter

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

ONCE again Communist Councilman Benjamin Davis performs a service to all decent people in the city.

This time it is in the form of a letter to Police Commissioner Wallander demanding an explanation for the fact that New York cops are making a practice of "viewing with suspicion" all cars driven by Negro citizens when these cars are outside the Harlem area.

Councilman Davis was himself halted by some snooping cops and submitted to the kind of verbal third degree which seems standard in police department practice nowadays.

This time the policemen picked the wrong victim for their intimidations. *Sat 5-11-46*

Councilman Davis speaks for all in New York who detest the KKK theory that the Negro citizen must "stay in his place" under pain of police bullying, if not worse.

Commissioner Wallander owes it to the city to heed Councilman Davis' demand for an investigation of this insolent Ku Klu Klan procedure which seems to have been ordered in the police department.

HOODLUMS SHOOT 2 NEGROES

Daily Worker

Two Negroes were wounded Saturday night when a car carrying three white men fired shots into a group of Negroes standing in front of a house at 261 Livonia Ave., Brooklyn. One of the victims, James Daniels, 39, was hit in the right chest and right arm and taken to Kings County Hospital. *Mon. 8-5-46*

Police are holding William Davidson, Daniel Roccoaforte, and Sam Goldberg on a charge of discharging their revolvers in public. Daniels' condition was described as critical at the hospital yesterday. *N.Y.*

COLLEGE WILL STUDY TENSIONS IN HARLEM

The Times New York N.Y.

Wed. 10-9-46

Students of City College will study Negro-Jewish relationships in Harlem, gauge the effectiveness of the New York State anti-discrimination law and investigate student attitudes on establishment of a State university, it was learned yesterday when the college's Social Research Laboratory announced its program.

The projects will be conducted with cooperation of groups including the Mayor's Committee on Unity, the American Jewish Congress and the Citizens Housing Committee, according to Prof. Samuel Joseph, chairman of the Department of Sociology.

In connection with the poll on the State university, the entire senior class at the college will be asked: "Have you changed your vocational objectives since entering college because you feel that racial or religious discrimination will prevent you from enntering your chosen profession?" The students will be questioned also on alleged discrimination at graduate schools and will be asked if they would continue their education at a free State university should one be established. *Wed. 10-9-46*

The laboratory will attempt to "uncover tension areas in Jewish-Negro relationships in the Harlem section" as part of a study of intercultural and interracial friction, it was said. Another survey will cover cooperative housing projects in New York City in relation to veterans.

Here To Yonder

Defender

Langston Hughes

Chicago, Ill.

Sat. 8-31-46

New York And Us

NEW YORK is not Paris, Moscow, or Mexico City in so far as racial good manners are concerned. But for an American metropolis, it is so far from being Mississippi - minded that, racially speaking, it is almost a paradise.

Few other cities in our United States can equal New York as an example of how well large numbers of people of varied national backgrounds can get along. And few American cities, if any, have less of a color line. Boston, Cleveland, Milwaukee, San Francisco are, of the big cities which I know best, the nearest to New York in freedom from the narrow-minded and cruel color prejudices in daily life that keep Negroes aware of their race in our country.

In the majority of our American towns and cities a Negro is refused service at drug store soda fountains. I have never heard of that happening in New York where I have lived now off and on for 20 years. I have had cokes and sodas at fountains in all parts of the city. In most American cities a Negro can never be sure just what restaurants (other than Negro) will permit him to buy a meal. (I am not speaking of the South where, of course, Jim Crow patterns are set by law a la Hitler.) But in New York it is rare that a colored person is denied service in a restaurant. If it does happen and a suit is brought, the Negro almost always wins the case.

In New York's theatres and movie houses, Negroes may purchase tickets freely and sit anywhere — which is certainly a great contrast to most cities where we are either Jim Crowed to upper balconies or else barred out altogether—as in Washington, our national capital, where colored people may not see any legitimate plays nor attend other than "Negro" movies. In the Broadway theatres Negro patrons are frequently seen in orchestra seats.

Night Clubs

THE NIGHT clubs are the one area of public entertainment in New York that generally discourages Negro patronage, other than a dozen or so clubs specializing in Negro entertainment — and even some of these give colored joy-seekers the least desirable tables. Barney Josephson's two Cafe Society places have been pioneers in breaking down this sort of discrimination in downtown New York. And the new Zanzibar, built in a sort of horseshoe circle, no longer puts its colored clientele along the side walls — since the new place has no side walls. The little swing and re bop places along 52nd st. where Billie Holliday sings, Stuff Smith and Dizzy and Slam play, give Negroes courteous and equal service. But most other New York cabarets would just as leave we kept out. (Which is a long ways from the way things are in Paris or Rio.)

It is a miracle these days that anyone gets a hotel room in New York, since all the hotels report hundreds of requests daily for reservations that they cannot fill. But Negro visitors who succeed in getting into New York's downtown hotels under present crowded conditions, report polite and courteous treatment. In recent months out of town colored people whom I know—not celebrities either—have stopped at the Waldorf-Astoria, the Pennsylvania, the Commodore, the Roosevelt, the Edison, and the Taft. Those of us who have travelled extensively in America know that very few cities welcome Negro guests in the first class hotels—so that is one more feather in New York's cap.

As Harlem's population extends beyond the old borders of pre-war Harlem, interracial apartment houses are less and less uncommon. In the Amsterdam-Broadway area that has become increasingly colored in the last few years, many white tenants have not run away as Negro tenants moved into the buildings.

Interracial 'Y'

THE YM and YWCA dormitories in New York are interracial. Negro girls stay at the Spelman YW in Greenwich Village and the Harlem YMCA has some white men residents in its dormitories. Skyscraper International House on Riverside is really international in that it accommodates students of all races, white and colored, European and Oriental. Father Divine's Heavens are interracial, too. When I was a student at Columbia, I lived in one of the dormitories on the campus. Nobody in New York seems amazed at these things, which is another mark of its cosmopolitan civilization.

But in spite of these racial decencies I have mentioned, New York still has its great Negro ghettos, such as Harlem, and in the Bronx and Brooklyn. It is not a perfect city racially speaking—being American. But compared to Atlanta, Dallas, Kansas City, or Indianapolis, it is truly wonderful. And every summer thousands of Negro visitors from more prejudiced portions of our country come to New York to breath a little of Manhattan's fresh air of racial decency, dine in good restaurants, and attend non-Jim Crow concerts and theatres, or pray in churches that won't invite you out for not being white.

Survey Shows Section of New York Hate-Filled

The Afro-American

More Than 31,000 West Side Children Have Been Involved in Racial Clashes

Baltimore, Md.

Sat. 1-4-47

NEW YORK—More than 31,000 children in the upper West Side of Manhattan have been involved in racial or religious clashes, the Mayor's Committee on Unity reported, last week, as a result of a recent survey.

The establishing of recreation centers, and the beginning of a program of intercultural education were pointed out as necessary to combat prejudice and conflicts, by the survey committee.

The neighborhood surveyed extended from 135th St. to the tip of Manhattan and from the Hudson River to Eighth St. Some 300,000 people, nearly a fourth of whom are colored, live in the area.

50% in Fights

Almost 30 per cent of the people interviewed reported that their children had participated in clashes between groups, and in a large number of cases, the clashes were reported as "serious."

In making their recommendations for new recreation centers to allow children to have wholesome outlets for their energies, the committee pointed out that the increased facilities would have to be co-ordinated with an intense education campaign.

The survey revealed that anti-colored prejudice is cherished by some 13 per cent of the persons questioned; and that 17 per cent believe that colored and white persons should not mix.

Causes of Bias

It stated that tension and conflict were based on the number and size of various groups, difference in social and economic status, the constant changes in population, nearness of contact and dissimilarity of interest.

Difference in living standards are great, with non-whites having by far the lowest standard of living as a group. They also receive less in rental value for their money, the report discloses.

"An educational campaign is needed to make people aware of what could be done, and in many cases to tell them of opportunities already existing in their neighborhoods for their children of which they have not heard," the committee said.

Langston Hughes

Chicago, Ill.

Sat. 8-24-46

New York

THERE ARE more millionaires, taxi cabs, skyscrapers, Jews, movie houses, and Negroes in New York than in any other city in the world. There are also more miles of subway tracks, more actors, and more hot dog stands. There are more night clubs, too. And almost more of everything than anywhere else.

New York is in many ways the most astonishing and thrilling city in the world, but it is far from being the most beautiful. It has none of the charm of Paris, or the ancient dignity of London, or the picturesqueness of Mexico City, or the tree-lined loveliness of Washington. Yet its museums and art dealers would make even Paris envious, its running hot and cold water would delight London, its Mexican restaurants are better than those in Mexico City, and it has none of the provincial Jim Crowisms of our official American capitol. So what New York lacks in over-all beauty, it makes up in many other ways.

It is a wonderful island, Manhattan, with the tallest and boldest towers in the world. The New York skyline from the Bay or either of the rivers is one of the earth's great sights. On an early winter evening where it gets dark before the offices close, and millions of lights begin to sparkle and glow in the windows of the skyscrapers, New York is like a child's dream out of fairy land. It is like an island hung with more stars than there are in the sky.

Melting Pot

THE FOLKS who live or work in the tall buildings, may look down on a clear day on an area containing more people within eyesight than anywhere else in the world. Within the Greater New York area live humanity's assorted millions—racially from blonde Scandinavians to black Jews, from Japanese to Jamaicans, socially from Park ave. debutantes in diamonds to Gypsy fortune tellers in glass beads, economically from Wall st. tycoons to Father Divine who doesn't own a thing, religiously from Free Thinkers to Holy Rollers, and in terms of occupation from men who run Flea Circuses to men who run nations.

And slightly north of center, but still more or less in the middle of all this, sits Harlem where I live. Harlem is colored, and it stretches all the way across Manhattan Island from river to river, from the Harlem River up Sugar Hill and, in recent years, right on over to Riverside dr. where Hilda Simms, the original and glamorous Anna Lucasta, resides, looking from her windows out over the Hudson and its Palisades. Central Park used to be the southern edge of Harlem, but now Harlem spills all around the edges of Central Park and down into the Nineties.

New York is not hide bound by restrictive covenants as is Chicago, so Negro neighborhoods manage to spread out a bit more as populations grow. Upper Broadway in the last decade has become almost as colored as Lenox ave. in Lower Harlem. The famous street that starts out with merchandise, becomes at Times sq. the Great White Way, is now above 145th one of Brownskin New York's main promenades. In a few years upper Broadway will probably be to Harlem what Seventh ave. has so long been—our main drag and meeting place. As fashionable Negroes take over Riverside dr., Broadway will be the nearest shopping and pleasure street.

Some of sepia New York's nicest bars and restaurants are already located on Broadway, including Bell's delightful triple roomed soda fountain, restaurant, and bar at the corner of 149th st. The colored night clubs have not yet invaded that neighborhood, but my prediction is that by 1950 with the shift in the Race population up the Hill, upper Broadway will have become the Black White Way. It is a nice clean wide street with a green and leafy little parkway up the center, and will be a pleasant boulevard for the greatest Negro section in the greatest Negro section in the greatest city in the Western World.

. . . And Harlem

OLD NEW YORKERS who remember when Harlem was not colored at all, continue to be amazed at how the Negro population has spread and grown there from a few thousand in World War I to what looks like at least a half million by World War II—although the census people are careful not to count that many yet. This Negro world within a world in Manhattan is just as amazing and full of contrasts and fascinations as is New York as a whole. Harlem has its various races in color—Latins, West Indians, Ethiopians, Creoles, and just plain Jacksons and Johnsons. Harlem has its millionaires and its beggars, its celebrities and its unknowns, its debutantes who go to expensive private schools and its Thursday night jitterbugs who work out in service all week and stop school early. Harlem has its penthouses—Canada Lee lives in one—and its subways—which is how most of us go to work.

During the weeks to come, I shall tell you about New York and Harlem, uptown and down, from here to yonder on Manhattan Island.

College Prexy Reveals Plight Of N.C. Negroes

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Ill

DURHAM, N. C.—The unvarnished truth of the Negro's deplorable plight in North Carolina, due largely to Jim Crow, was revealed this week by Dr. James E. Shepard, president of the North Carolina College for Negroes.

In a state-wide radio broadcast Saturday, Dr. Shepard laid bare the facts of life as lived by the majority of colored people under Dixie's system of segregation and prejudice.

More than 90 per cent of Negro homes throughout the state are in poor repair, stated Dr. Shepard, with most of the houses occupied by Negro tenants being "unfit for human habitation."

Few Negro Doctors

For every 6,499 Negroes in the state, there is only one physician, he continued, as compared to one white doctor for every 1,127 white persons.

In 39 counties there are no hospital beds for Negro patients, while in the rest of the state there are facilities for one in every 1,000 colored persons.

"The comparisons above, therefore, are significant when we realize that germs cannot be segregated," declared Dr. Shepard, "and that the general health of any community depends upon the well-being of all the people in the community." Sat 2-23-46

Military Rejects High

North Carolina, he disclosed, stood at the top of the list of all the 48 states in the percentage of men who were rejected for military service because of illiteracy or poor health.

Pointing out that Negro youth in North Carolina lack healthful supervised recreation, Dr. Shepard warned that something must be done for this large group of young people.

He cited the newly organized North Carolina Recreation Committee as a step in the right direction.

There were other bright spots in the dark picture painted by the college president: Equal pay for Negro teachers as recommended by a commission appointed by the legislature, and increasing support for Negro schools which face the task of training veterans under the GI Bill of Rights.

Governor Lauded

An increasing use of the ballot was urged as Dr. Shepard called upon the radio audience to "use our democracy lest we lose it."

"Governor Cherry in commuting the death penalty of a young Negro accused of a heinous crime uttered a challenge to the state when he said that somewhere the state had failed, it had not given to this poor Negro a chance," he concluded.

"For myself, I should like to see such noble words as freedom, democracy, and human rights made less suspect, removed from the suggestion of propaganda. In the Atlantic Charter our 'Four Freedoms' are given world impetus, but freedom of speech isn't very important unless we have something to say; freedom of worship is useless unless we have something higher than our little shibboleths to which we can give our devotions, and freedom from want and fear can become both a delusion and a snare if we do not know what to do with our money or how to use our security."

People & Issues

The Worker, New York, N.Y.

A Trip to Charlotte, N. C.

By Benjamin J. Davis

CHARLOTTE, N. C.

IT was my privilege and pleasure to be the guest of the Alpha Phi Alpha, my old school fraternity, and of the students and several members of the faculty of Johnson C. Smith University here Thursday and Friday. My visit was in connection with the "education for citizenship" week, an annual observance of the fraternity; and the Student Activities Committee of the University invited me as guest speaker at their Ninth Annual Spring Forum. The trip was unforgettably inspiring, not only because of the hospitality and warm courtesies extended to me personally, but especially for the opportunities to address the townspeople and the students, and for the cordial patience with which they received my remarks, and asked provocative questions.

Sun 5-3-46

I was met at the station by a reception committee of fraternity brothers, students and other citizens. A caravan of cars with a police escort carried us through the heart of the city to our first destination, the Second Ward High School. Here about 350 Negro school kids greeted me in a flattering style to which I was unaccustomed, and I brought them greetings from their fellow students in Harlem. I was not allowed to take my seat until I had commented on a question from the floor which inquired: "In view of the fact that some people have said from this platform that segregation was good for the Negro, what do you think of them and their ideas?" All I will say is that I responded in no uncertain tones. From their reaction, one can only say that the young Negro students in the South will never accept segregation or Jimcrow or any other form of "white supremacy" and will fight with all their strength to see that this evil is torn up by the roots.

Sun 5-3-46

AT the Forum, where easily 500 students were present, there was a determined mood of militancy and readiness for action, coupled with an eager broadmindedness. Not only was there interest in the most immediate and elementary questions of democracy in the South, but the students were vitally concerned with issues of foreign policy, the colonial question and are avidly searching for the truths behind the diplomatic battles as they are played up in the headlines. They place great hopes in the forthcoming CIO organizing drive in the South. They want to know about the Communist Party, its philosophy, policy and program. They are not daunted by the fact that the thick fog of white supremacy hangs over the South.

The "education for citizenship" rally which took place in the Little Rock A. M. E. Methodist Church was a unity rally, participated in by all the Negro college fraternities and sororities, by the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and by many other community organizations.

The North Carolinians are very proud of their native son, Max Yergan, of the Council on African Affairs and the National Negro Congress. They are planning to send a delegation to the 10th Anniversary Convention of the Congress in Detroit, May 30.

* * *

NORTH CAROLINA does not have the poll-tax, but it has the white primary and all the other evils of the Jimcrow system. Negroes in Charlotte constitute about a third of the population, and they are beginning to throw their political weight around in local elections and now have four Negro policemen. It is a textile state and the CIO has a big job cut out for it, not only with respect to the Negro people, but in organizing the white workers for decent wages and working conditions. Sun 5-3-46

FDR characterized the South as economic problem No. 1 of the nation. But it is also opportunity No. 1. For to lift the dead hand of Rankinism from the South is to remove a ball and chain which drags down the whole nation. That is our responsibility in other sections of the country even more than it is of the Southern workers and masses. The bold actions and struggles which they display, under the most unfavorable conditions, puts us, in the North, to the test.

North Carolina Governor Sincere But Not Liberal

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Ill.

By ENOC P. WATERS

RALEIGH, N. C.—Large, white-haired Gov. R. Gregg Cherry, of North Carolina, extended his big, soft hand and gave me a hearty handshake when I walked into his office in the state capitol building here, and said:

"Glad to know you, Waters. Have a seat."

Seated on the other side of his glistening glass top desk, he impressed me as a sincere man, but certainly not a liberal man, even by southern standards.

The day before I saw him, his office was closed in observance of Confederate Memorial Day. From the pole above the capitol dome, the flag of the Confederacy had flown for 24 hours, for the first time since before the war.

"No Discrimination" Sat 5-18-46

In response to my questioning, he denied that discrimination against the Negro exists in the state; declared that Negroes can and are achieving equality under segregation; expressed violent opposition to a state FEPC law; confessed he knew nothing of the aims of the present CIO organizational campaign; said that neither whites nor Negroes were ready for integration in this state, and invited the Negroes of the nation to make their homes here.

Our first question was: Do you feel that discrimination against the Negro in this state is one of the reasons for its low economic standing?

The colored people in this state are not discriminated against, he asserted. There may be a few isolated instances of discrimination against your people, but generally they get the same treatment from the state that white people get.

North Carolina College for Negroes, he said, is one of the best schools in the South. It's president, Dr. James Shephard, is an outstanding educator and he has with him an excellent faculty. The state has also provided other institutions for Negroes, such as insane asylums, homes for juvenile delinquents and so forth. North Carolina, he declared, has more state supported institutions for Negroes than any other state in the nation. I don't call that discrimination.

He also mentioned that several of the state agencies employ Negroes. He mentioned the Department of Welfare, the Department of Education and the Recreation Commission.

Equal Opportunity

Is it possible, we next asked him, for the Negro to achieve equality of opportunity in a segregated society.

His answer was positively affirmative. Teachers get equal salaries, he said. School, health and recreational facilities are either equal or close to it, he pointed out.

Best proof, he said, that Negroes have equal opportunities in this state is to be found in Durham where Negroes have established the largest Negro insurance company, a bank, and other financial institutions that can't be equalled in the North.

C. C. Spaulding, to whom he referred as "Dr. Spaulding" is one of the best business men in the state, he said, regardless of color. He is a good example, the Governor said, of the opportunity afforded Negroes in this state.

Under the GI Bill of Rights, we told him, hundreds more Negroes than ever before are taking trade and technical courses and many others are acquiring similar training in the service. In view of

many unions and employers refusing to employ Negroes in other than unskilled capacities what was the future of these former service men, we inquired.

He did not answer immediately. We told him about the FEPC as established by President Roosevelt and explained to him its purpose. We added that several states, notably New York and New Jersey, had enacted similar laws.

He responded immediately. He was definitely opposed to any type of FEPC for North Carolina. It isn't needed here, he said. He told me that Negroes are the backbone of the tobacco industry, that in addition to their education, they are getting on the job training. He claimed they are working in machine shops and garages.

Returning to Durham, he said they were employed as accountants, clerks and office workers.

Negroes In Industry

Not satisfied with his answer, we tried to question him on up-grading of Negroes in industry. We spoke of the lily-white policy of many unions.

It became apparent that if he understood what we were talking about, he wasn't inclined to discuss it, so we passed on.

We sought his reaction to the CIO drive in the South.

I don't know anything about it, he said, other than that they are trying to increase their membership and they claim to be able to help workers.

We next asked him to step out of his role as governor, and to tell us as a southern white man how far he was willing to support Negroes in attaining their objective of living and working in a society where there was no racial discrimination and no segregation. Sat. 5-18-46

His reaction to this question was more noticeable than to any other during the interview.

He said he didn't want Negroes in his home and he didn't feel that Negroes wanted him in theirs. He spoke of intermarriage and the mongrelization of the races. He was calm, but he was adamant.

In interrupted to explain that he had misunderstood me. I told him the matters he was discussing were personal. Then I explained that some southerners felt that an approach could be made towards the integration of the races in the South by eliminating segregation step by step in various phases of life.

Start Suggested

Virginius Dabney, I told him, had suggested sometime ago, that a start might be made by doing away with segregation on street cars.

He said there was danger of moving too fast in this direction. He said he didn't feel that either Negroes or whites in this state were ready for such a radical step. The situation as it is, he said, is pretty satisfactory to both groups and he saw no reason for disturbing it.

Our next question was: Do you feel that it is beneficial to the state that Negroes are beginning to take a more active interest in politics and are voting in larger numbers?

Negroes, he responded, need a lot of training in their responsibilities as citizens. So do some of the whites, he added as an afterthought. Sat. 5-18-46

Finally we asked him if he were called upon to offer advice to all the Negroes of the United States what would he say.

I'd tell them to come to North Carolina. This is the best of the 48 states for them. Their opportunities are greatest here, he said, and there is a greater work for them to do. The states natural resources he said are not fully exploited and there is much that the Negro might contribute.

You tell them, he concluded, to come here and live. We have all sorts of people here. They all get along fine. The Negro will be treated like anyone else.

Throughout, our interview was friendly. Regardless of his feelings, he remained calm and impersonal. I feel, however, that he was inhibited by the possible reaction of his white constituency to what he said.

Baptists Reverse Anti-Bias Stand At N.C. Session

Defender
Chicago, Ill.
Sat. 11-30-46

(Special to the Defender)

ASHEVILLE, N. C.—North Carolina white Baptists did an about face Thursday on the earlier passage of a convention resolution to abolish segregation in the church and approving joint attendance of white and colored worshippers.

An agitated assembly at the closing session of the annual North Carolina State Baptist Convention did not mind the world knowing that if they had to choose between accepting Christianity and segregation, they preferred the latter. By an overwhelming vote delegates to the meeting rescinded action of a liberal segment of their leaders who offered the joint worship resolution in the closing hours of Tuesday's session.

The convention unanimously adopted the proposal asking that churches end segregation of the races.

However, on Wednesday, Dr. Louis S. Gaines, who read the resolution and moved that it be adopted said that it did not mean that "we will immediately throw our doors open for Negro membership."

He explained that the action was merely "an ideal" and should not be interpreted to mean that Baptists "at this time approve of total social equality."

He said further: "It is a social goal toward which all evangelical denominations are approaching."

Health Officer Branded As Insidious Force

Black Dispatch
Oklahoma City, Okla
Sat 2-23-46

Branding Dr. G. F. Matthews, state health director, as an insidious force in American Democracy, the business council of the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers voted to express grevious feelings of insult received from the Oklahoma official for referring to the 2000 listeners in Douglass auditorium three times last Thursday night as "niggers."

Soon after the opening of his address on "Health Education in Schools and Community," the public official was thought by platform guests to have heard him use the Bourbonic word of derision (nigger) when he repeated the title of the association.

Considering it inconceivable that some high public official would stoop to such low depths, the audience seemed to merely "set" their ears to make certain whether or not they were mistaken.

"The Man" spoke on for several minutes with the listeners restless and frequently asking the fellow on the next seat if he or she was certain that the word of derision coined by Ku-Kluxers and the like, was spoken.

Shortly afterwards the rugged looking doctor belched twice with the Bourbonic slur, "nigger.". Platform guest R. G. Parrish, of Chickasha, quickly rose and interrupted "the man," supposedly censoring him on repeatedly insulting the audience that was now scornfully walking out into the hall. Sat 2-23-46

"The Man," flushed from his forehead to his stubby neck and soon took his seat.

In the Saturday afternoon business council session, a motion was made to officially censor the health director for the state of Oklahoma. F[illegible] a dozen state principals expressed resentment in hot terms, branding Matthews as a typical "insidious force" in American Democracy. The chairman called the house to order and unanimous vote was taken to draft an official letter of censorship.

The same physician was the subject of a rank segregation act a month ago when he sent to Negro staff members a letter directing them to NOT attend an important state health conference in Tulsa's Mayo hotel, because of "a critical housing shortage." He later directed an office assistant to locate a more democratic meeting place in the city of Tulsa, but this did not take place. A month later, a jim crow conference was held in another part of the state.

Dr. Matthews is also charged with responsibility of failure of Gov. Kerr's promised Negro state health office staff from materializing.

Interracial Couple Banished by Okla.

Afro American
Baltimore, Md.

OKLAHOMA CITY

Asked to leave the State after having served prison terms of one year, Ted Sesney, white, and his wife, Mrs. Josie D. Sesney, are the latest victims of Oklahoma's racial laws.

The couple, married in Nowata County of Northwestern Okla. more than a year ago, were sentenced concurrently to a year in the State penitentiary on charges of miscegenation, a felony under Oklahoma law.

Upon their release from jail, they were told by Randall S. Cobb, assistant attorney general, that they could not live together legally in the State and would have to leave. Sat 2-23-46

Future Undisclosed

Mr. Sesney, a farmer, remained silent when questioned by prison officials as to his future.

There is no indication that the banished pair will allow the State's racial law to part them, however, a fellow prisoner said.

Authors of School Text Rapped For Questionable Interpretation

NEW YORK — Alison E. Aitchison and Marguerite Uttley of Iowa State Teachers College, authors of "North America by Plane and Train," a geography, were criticized recently by Alfred A. Duckett, special feature writer, for alleged biased interpretation of Negro life and the practice of using a small 'n' in the spelling of the word Negro.

Mr. Duckett's denunciation resulted in promises from the co-authors and Bobbs-Merrill Company to make the necessary corrections in the next revision of the text.

OFFENSIVE SECTION

Mr. Duckett directed the attention of the authors and publishers to two paragraphs, on pages 66 and 67 of the book. They are:

"Into the fields troop the pickers with shouts and songs. Cotton picking is generally a happy time among the (negro) workers. Whole families are engaged as pickers by owners of large plantations. A renter or small owner employs his own boys and girls and a few extra pickers.

"Each picker drags after him a long gunny sack into which he stuffs handsful of white cotton snatched from the bolls of the plants. Up and down the rows go men, women and children with backs bent as they reach for the bolls. The sun beats down and the air is damp, which makes one feel warmer still. One needs to be good-natured to sing toward the end of the day in this kind of work."

PICTURED NEGRO AS DOLT

In his comment to the authors and publishers on the paragraphs, Mr. Duckett said: "So, once again, as it has been done too frequently, we have selected for us the type of winsome stereotype which portrays the hard-working, underpaid, underprivileged Southern Negro as an irresponsible human being whose sole reaction to his sorry lot is a spiritual or jazz tune.

"It will be noted also that throughout the book when the term "Negro" is used, it is spelled with a small "n."

Mr. Duckett added: "The book in question is undoubtedly used in many schools. The copy to which I have reference is the property of the Board of Education and was obtained in Public School 49, Brooklyn.

"I think that you will agree that . . . So long as white children are taught to regard the Negro as a happy-go-lucky dolt who compensates his trouble with a song on the lips and shuffling feet . . . so long as Negro children are taught this about themselves—it may safely be said that" the proper type of education is not being provided.

PUBLISHERS REPLY

Publishers Bobbs-Merrill Company stated in reply that "we have never interpreted the cited section in the portrayal light offered in your letter. Working with creditable spirit, such as is depicted in this section, is indeed a happy virtue not common enough these days. We would hardly stamp such persons as dolts. Certainly that was not the intention of the authors' publishers.

"Perhaps a change in the wording of the last sentence in the second paragraph would eliminate any probability of the interpretation that you've given. We will correspond with Miss Aitchison about such a change."

In clarifying the company's stand on the spelling of the term Negro, the publishers said: "For many years now, we have of course followed this established practice of capitalization. This change can and will be made in the plates of the book before another printing."

AUTHORS REPLY

The authors, Aitchison and Uttley, stated in their reply to Mr. Duckett that, "We are sorry if the interpretation you give is that which must be necessarily taken from the paragraphs you quote. . .

". . . We shall indicate to Bobbs-Merrill that when a revision is made the paragraphs be changed.

"Of course you are right about the capital N in Negro being common usage today."

"North America by Plane and Train" was first published in 1931.

100,000 Negroes Passing For White

CHICAGO, Ill.—(ANP)— More than 100,000 Negroes are passing for white in America although legally Negro.

These persons—some of them blue eyed, pink skinned and blonde—are biologically white even though legally Negro in many states. They have passed over the color line despite laws in some states defining Negroes as anyone with 1/64 Negro blood.

John H. Burma, Grinnell College professor of sociology, writing in the March Negro Digest, declares: "Studies estimate that at the peak as many as one-third of a million persons a decade passed over the color line. There are some 10 million Negroes with some white blood. Probably a million of these have as much white as Negro blood. Most of this latter group are potential passers."

U.S. Whites Can't Imagine How Negro Feels, Says Author

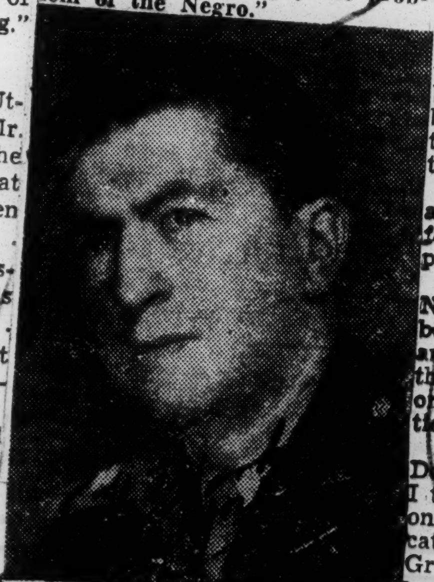
No average American white person can ever know what he would do if he were a Negro.

That blunt declaration comes from Henrietta Buckmaster, noted author of "Deep River" and "Let My People Go."

Miss Buckmaster writing on the subject, "If I Were A Negro" in the February Negro Digest, declares:

"There is a peculiar and deep presumption in any white person saying what he would do if he were a Negro. He does not know what he would do any more than he knows what he would do if he fell under a train and lost his leg, or drifted for 40 days in an open boat. He might plan; he might be quite loquacious on the subject, but he would not know.

"No average American white person has been prepared to face the heavy closed door of segregation. And segregation is, to my way of thinking, the one word that sums up the entire sociological, economic and psychic problem of the Negro."



HERBERT APTHEKER (above), distinguished writer and authority on Negro history, recently discharged from the Army, will give a series of lectures on "Main Epochs in American Negro History: an interpretation and evaluation"; at the Jefferson School, 575 Avenue of the Americas. The course will begin on Thursday, March 7, and be held for five consecutive Thursday evenings. Advance registration is now going on.

Actor Sentenced To Read Books On Race

HOLLYWOOD. — A Hollywood actor was sentenced to read four books on racial tolerance last week, to escape a visit in the county jail for the beating of John Wexley, screen writer.

A. Owens was accused of attacking Wexley on V-J Day after a traffic accident and shouting, "You dirty Jew, I'll kill you!"

Judge Thomas L. Ambrose granted the actor three years' probation instead of a six-month jail term, and ordered him to read the following four books:

"The Fallacy of Race," "Man's Most Dangerous Myth," both by M. F. Ashley Montague; "Race Discrimination and the Law" by Carey McWilliams, and "The Races of Mankind," both Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish.

The court suggested that Owens and Wexley get together and exchange views after the assigned matter has been read.

Urges Negroes To Stop Trying To Be Indians, Cubans

It is time Negroes stop trying to be everything except Negroes. Stop trying to be Cherokee Indians, Cubans and other folk. None of them have the history or lore Negroes have. The American Indian did not ever make the contributions to civilization as did the black race. Instead Negroes should be proud and glorify their heritage that compares favorably with that of any people of the world.

I have no axe to grind and I am not against white people. I am for black people. When black people advance so do I advance.

The Negro press is one of the Negro's greatest institutions. It behooves every Negro to read more and more Negro publications so that he may be better informed on the accomplishments and activities of his race.

I am a regular reader of the Defender and I like it very much. I think you should be commended on having the best weekly publication in the world. — Wilbur A. Grady, Chicago, Ill.

—PREJUDICE

From the corner psychologist whom we consult when human behavior baffles our understanding we learn that prejudice is not congenital. W. S. Gilbert, he says, was not well grounded in the science of the mind when he wrote that "every boy and every gal that's born into this world alive is either a little liberal or else a little conservative." Children are born unprejudiced; the economic royalist's child and the coal miner's child, the white child and the brown child find one another congenial enough in their infancy. Prejudices are mental deformities which they get from outside influences later on. Why we mention it here at this time of general good-will all over the domestic scene and the world in general we don't know. We have to fill our space somehow.

Inquiry Group Seeks to Determine the Point At Which Children Begin to Show Prejudices

By CATHERINE MACKENZIE

At what point children begin to show race and group prejudices, the reasons for these and the forms they take are being studied in a pioneering research project announced yesterday by Dr. Samuel H. Flowerman, department of scientific research, American Jewish Committee, 425 Fourth Avenue.

This inquiry into social discrimination, under the committee's auspices, is under way at the Institute of Child Welfare of the University of California, Dr. Flowerman said. A mass of data compiled by social scientists in the well-known Berkeley Growth Study will be examined for early influence as they may bear on the views of young people. Records kept from birth on every third child born in Berkeley seventeen years ago have been followed through in 160 complete life histories.

The investigation is under the direction of Dr. Else Frankel Brunswick, on leave from the department of psychology, University of California. Co-directors of the study are Dr. Harold E. Jones, director of the Institute of Child Welfare, and Dr. Theodore W. Adorno, Institute of Social Research, Columbia University.

Supplementary studies are also being made to determine children's attitudes toward persons of race, creed and national origin differing from their own. Among these groups are grades four to six in two schools representing families at extremes of the economic scale. As findings of these studies emerge, they are being compared with those of adult and adolescent studies.

Indications that the person who is anti-one thing is apt to be anti-everything outside his own group have been found in preliminary studies with adults, Dr. Flowerman stated. Thus the person who is anti-Semitic tends also to be anti-British, anti-Russian, anti-labor, anti-Negro and so through a long list of other groups and people.

But these tendencies relate to adults, he pointed out; no one knows whether they apply to children. If they do, it will then be important to know how the children got that way, he continued. In dealing with social discrimination, one must know at what stage of development, and due to what influences, it begins to take root, he commented, adding, "Perhaps armed with the knowledge of cause, we may come closer to a cure."

Noting the long neglect of human relationships in our society, he said, "The social sciences must have at least the same chance as the psysical sciences if we are to bridge the gap between psychological infancy and technological maturity, and if we are ever to learn how to live with one another."

The New York Chapter of the American Jewish Committee held a meeting yesterday afternoon at the Harmonie Club, 4 East Sixtieth Street, for members of the advertising, writing, publishing and affiliated fields. Robert J. Misch, chairman of the membership committee, John Slawson, executive vice president of the national committee, and Mrs. Ethel Philips, head of the department of public information, described the purposes and activities of the organization.

Racialist Typing

To the Editor: *New York, N.Y.*

It was disappointing to see a good man like O'Reilly go wrong in his Friday column. "Dutchmen are phelgmatic; Irishmen, Poles, Italians excitable; Negroes have a flair for drama," etc. A sad example of the racialist typing that liberals ought to see through; certainly PM should have no patience with such sloppy thinking. A man's national origin is only one minor factor in determining his disposition. Besides, aren't those football players all *Americans*? *Sun. 11-24-46*

New York STUART MAYPER

IS JAZZ OBSCENE?

Ebony Chicago, Ill. Jan. 1946

Every night I listen to our midnight radio program on AFN (meaning Armed Forces Network). It is an army-sponsored station in Munich, Germany, featuring GI talent and record playing as entertainment. We send in a request for a given record to be played and, Bingo, no matter what it is, it is played.

One colored soldier in Germany asked for *Jelly, Jelly* and it was played last night. I was in a Belgian home at the time. The family was very much surprised at the obscene implications along with what they termed "good music."

We must face the facts—some of our records are not fit to be played in our own backyards, to say nothing of over here where people, for the most part, know nothing of us and are being told by southern whites that we are no good, worship sex and have tails. Most of these lies have been shown false by the commendable behavior of our men in ETO.

Most soldiers have learned a valuable lesson over here so I, for one, am passing some of that knowledge on to the folks at home. Frankly, in the states I didn't pay much attention to jazz (I still think some of it is OK), taking the attitude that if some people wanted that kind of music, let them have it.

But in my travels in both the U.S.A. and abroad, I've learned that music is one of the best instruments of education in existence with far-reaching effects and possibilities, undreamed of by most people. A pretty complete album of the most popular American records is commonplace in almost any pub in England or cafe, restaurant and bar in France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Holland or homes in Germany. There is a very definite preference for the best swing and jazz music of our Negro artists. Photos of our name bands—Count Basie, Erskine Hawkins, Earl Hines—are cherished property of many homes.

A great number of Europeans, other than British, have learned and are learning to speak the English language with the hope of coming to the States. What will be the attitude of these people toward the Negro?

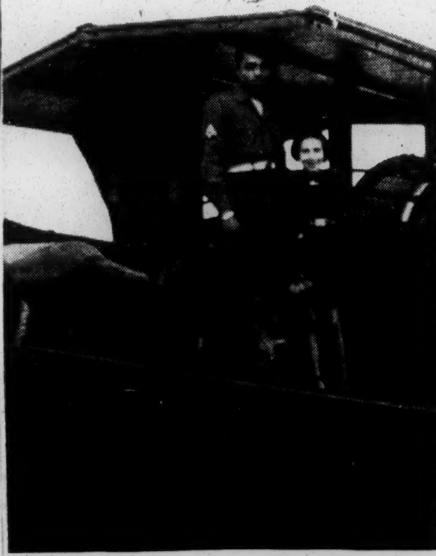
It boils down to this—we must get rid of our obscene language, put more emphasis on education, become more social and less snobbish among ourselves, dress more sensibly (especially the men). jitterbugs are O.K. but get rid of those costumes that look like something out of another world—"drapes." They are too loud and conspicuous, ridiculously so. Let's be more reserved and conservative. Those 14 inch bottoms with 26 inch knees and that long frock coat smacks of poor taste.

I know it makes many jitterbugs angry, but take it from me, it's not smart. I am a jitterbug myself—still do the jitterbug but I am through with those clothes. Let's wake up Colored America and get into a social position that we can be looked upon as a credit to a great nation instead of a people to be tolerated. True, the other fellow has his faults, but let's remedy ours. His will alter as a consequence.

So far we have an excellent record both in America and abroad, but there is much to be desired and there is much in store for us. We must be capable of coping with any problem in this day of scientific research with astounding discoveries. Let's make our place in this world of chaos, thereby solving one of the most perplexing problems in America.

CORPORAL JOHN D. SMITH

Liege, Belgium.



CPL. SMITH AND GERMAN GIRL

REAL SUPERIORITY

Birmingham, Ala.

To the Editor of The News: *Thurs. 9-19-46*

What does superiority really mean? It literally refers to Christ's definition when He said, "He that is greatest among you is the servant of all." In saying this and by His life, Christ was a superior person. *The News*

Race superiority is and always has been the refuge of the lazy, ignorant self-seekers or bully type who always live among us. A race, people or class can only claim superiority by their service to others and all humanity. Superiority does not apply to each and every member of a race, people, class or within a family. Christ said, "By their fruit ye shall know them."

The colored man as well as the white man should let this soak in. A real superior person is one who by years of inner character and service to others has built himself into a superior person.

A real lady or gentleman is not one by reason of proper ancestry, race, class, outward appearance or manners. Inferior people are covered up by each of these.

A real lady or gentleman is recognized only by intimate social or business relations with them. He or she who wishes to be superior should follow the life, example and teachings of a superior person, Christ, who said, "My church is not built of brick and stone, but is within." So does superiority come only from within and reveals itself in contact with and service to others. *Thurs. 9-19-46*

Our country and world is in serious trouble. Daily over the radio, in newspapers and magazines are we reminded of this. Why has this state of affairs come about? It is the result of not having enough superior people of all races. It is the result of not having enough ladies and gentlemen.

When enough superior people and real ladies and gentlemen are produced in our public schools and churches, then we will have democracy and peace. W. G. KITTS.

1216 Woodland Avenue.

A MAN IS A MAN

Editor, The Advertiser:

For over 60 years I have lived in Montgomery and Montgomery County, except a few years spent in the State of Tennessee. I belong to the Negro race and have not for once desired to change my identity to that of another race. *The Advertiser*

From the time I have known myself to now, I have seen the white man. I have seen him on the streets and in the country working on his farm and carrying out his business affairs. Upward of 65 years ago my father, the late Eli Madison, used to bring me to town Saturday afternoon and stop me at the store of a white man, Mr. "Jim" May, 117 Montgomery Street. Mr. May was father's friend and we thought much of him. It was he who made it possible for us to be heirs to the Madison Parks estate. In 1880 he sold it to my father and my fathers' father and another man. Since then the tax record in the Court House has not been free of a Madison name. *The Montgomery Advertiser*

My father had ten sons, he also had two daughters. He never once taught us that we were white; he did teach us to be as honest and great as any man. Every man should look up and make of himself a citizen and not a thief. None of our number have been convicted of crimes. There is a suspicion on the part of some to think because a man looks up and thinks much of himself, that he envies the places of others. This is not true. The man who believes in the "divine writ"—"Out of one blood has God made all nations to dwell together upon the face of the earth"—is anxious to perfect the word of God by living as a good citizen. I am proud of my friends "white." I do not know where they live here, but I know where to find them, in their offices, and business pursuits. They do not pass me without an expression. Some call me by my name, William, some call me Madison, and some Reverend. God looks for the best in man, white or black, and usually finds it in the treasury of his heart. *Montgomery, Ala.*

REV. W. F. MADISON, D. D.

115 South Hall Street *Tues. 12-31-46*

Montgomery, Ala.

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 8-17-46

The Cess Pool of the Nazi South

Ike, Bill, Willie,

'No dam' new ceptin' Foster shot a nigger through thuh eye ball. The man was makin' purty near as much money as a white man, made Bob see red Couldn't blame Bob atall. Went up to New York for a vacation dam' nigger sits nex' to me in a Subway got sick of that come on back home

Not in this world......

Not in this world....

ole pappy......

The above is the facsimile of a letter sent from Elizabeth City, N.C., by a white man who calls himself "Pappy" to Irvin S. Williams, Lyle Hall, McDonough University (McDonough School), McDonough, Md. According to this letter, a white man, named Foster, shot a colored man because the colored man was making almost as much money as he was.

How Jim Crow Picks the Pocket Of Impoverished Southland

PM New York, N.Y.

Fri. 11-29-46

The pattern of Jim Crow, or racial segregation, is not only morally degrading but economically wasteful. One of the first things that hits the eye at the municipal airport in Atlanta, Georgia, is the straight row of four washrooms with conspicuous signs reading: For White Men Only, For White Women Only, For Colored Men Only and For Colored Women Only. Close by are two public drinking fountains, God's own water—same source, same stuff, tapped in duplicate by man's stupid and expensive prejudices.

Deutsch

I am reminded of an incident I witnessed many years ago in the public square of a South Carolina town. It was a hot Summer's night. An overalled, unshaven white man, trailed by a woman presumably his wife, and four children entered the square and walked up to one of the two drinking fountains standing there. He took a long drink with manifest enjoyment, as did his wife. The oldest boy was about to follow, when he stopped and spelled out a sign blurred by the darkness: For Colored Only.

The man spat several times in disgust, as though he wanted to spout back what he had just guzzled contentedly, led his family to the other fountain in pained dignity, and drank again—the same water. A man going through the same motions north of the Mason-Dixon line would quite properly be suspected of being sick in the head.

The impoverished South pays heavily for the luxury of entertaining Jim Crow. It has to build two bad schools at a price more costly than one good one; it operates practically every other public institution—hospitals, reformatories, recreation centers, etc.—in duplicate. Segregated housing is expensive to White and Negro dwellers alike.

Here's one way in which the race-hate neurosis displays itself in Atlanta, as in other Southern cities: In former years, street cars had two entrances. Whites entered in front, Negroes in back. The Georgia Power Co., which operates the car lines, dropped the back entrance in order to save the expense of the additional conductor.

So now both white and Negro passengers use the front entrance. But custom decrees that Negroes enter only after all waiting whites have got in, regardless of time priority. Custom also decrees a Jim-Crow section for Negroes in the back of cars. After the Negroes enter, they must make their way through the crowds of white passengers who clog the front part, to get into the Jim Crow section. Stepping on toes and jostling is inevitable, discomforting to both races. In overcrowded Atlanta, the transportation system is strained to bursting. The senseless, vicious Jim Crow transportation policy has resulted in dangerous racial flareups, including the occasional killing of a Negro passenger.

The biggest movie house in Atlanta, the Paramount, is now showing Walt Disney's *Song of the South,* based on Joel Chandler Harris's famous Uncle Remus folk stories, which were written in Atlanta. The picture had its world's premiere at the Paramount the other night. It was a gala affair, as the press agents say, and all the stars were invited. All, that is, but the principal star, colored James Baskett who played Uncle Remus. Which led local liberal wits to ask:

"Where was Uncle Remus when the flood lights went on?"

The irrational Jim Crow pattern is carried to such a ridiculous extent that the name of the colored star, James Baskett, is even omitted from the press advertisements, although all the lesser lights are played up. Mr. Baskett is also Jim-Crowed off the theater marquee, which lists his supporting cast.

Fri. 11-29-46

Atlanta friends told me that when Mrs. Emma Clement, a Negro whose son is president of Atlanta University, was named "The American Mother of 1946" by the Golden Rule Foundation, the local newspapers resorted to every tortuous literary device to avoid reference to the honored mother as "Mrs."—a term strictly reserved for white married women in the Southern press.

That's Jim Crow—silly and costly.

They Dare Not Discuss Fact

The News and Courier

The "Liberals" combating "race prejudice", what they are pleased to call "Jim Crow", opposing segregation of races in residence and their separation in the industries, in politics, in the schools, run away from the main question so far as the Southern white people are concerned.

The Southern white people insist upon segregation, separation, and oppose mingling of the races in the schools and in factories because they are determined that there shall be no amalgamation of the two races. They are resolved that the white race of the South shall stay white, and they reason that close association of white people and negroes would soon or late produce a race of mixed blood.

Charleston, S.C.

Of this they are the more convinced because the "Liberals" carefully avoid allusion to the danger involved in the breaking down of separation which they urge.

Students of Southern conditions have learned that the abolition of slavery was the great step in race separation. They know that miscegenation is not nearly so common as it was on the plantations and farms when negroes were property. Some of them have come to think of Abraham Lincoln not so much as the "emancipator" of the slaves as the preserver of the purity of the white race of the negro race too.

Mon. 10-28-46

The distance between the cabin and the "big house" is ten times as long as it used to be.

The masses of the Southern negroes are not seeking intermarriage with white people. They are not seeking to be absorbed. They are content to live in their own residential streets and colonies; in truth they seek that separation. In all the Southern towns and cities are negro quarters, and nowhere has their establishment been forced by white people. The agitators and self-deluded uplifters would have this voluntary separation come to an end. For its ending they struggle. They do not to this time dare to mention amalgamation. They will come to it.

The problem of the negro in the United States is of extraordinary complexity. An aspect of it rapidly appearing with added embarrassment and pain to Southern negroes is that mechanized farming is reducing the demand for their labor that caused their forefathers to be brought to the South.

The News and Courier speaks for those Southern white people who would help the negroes to take care of themselves. These white people would have the negroes to own homes, to own farms, shops, stores and factories. They demand justice for negroes. They would not have the negroes to be serfs.

Southern negroes who cannot think of escape from what "Liberals" call economic slavery except through association with white people, the tearing down of the barriers, would better go to the Northern districts where racial separation is not preached, whether or not it is practiced.

There are no barriers to movement. From South Carolina white people have been migrating 145 years. They are migrating now. No Southern negro unless he is sick in mind or body is too poor, in these times, to travel.

To discuss the facts would require courage on the part of the "Liberals". They haven't got it.

Bigotry and the Negro

Times-Dispatch

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

How much longer must this semiserfdom of the Southern Negro continue? Richmond, Va.

Every single supposedly God-fearing and righteous man or woman who has never relinquished his age-old hate and prejudice is a bigoted hypocrite and should be ashamed to enter the portals of God professing a lie. Possibly there is a psychological fear and hate of "niggers" in the precious tradition-bound South. Very well; why not admit it and close our places of worship? At least, we won't be guilty of both hate for our fellow-man and hypocrisy.

We flatter ourselves tremendously by sitting in our churches one or two hours each Sunday and claiming to all who will listen that we have the love of God and His ideals in us. As soon as we are back in our respective homes and social groups during the week, we forget that great love and actually preach the hate and snobbish "We are better than they are" philosophy which was condemned in the Sunday sermon and is condemned in our most precious of books, the Bible.

Mon.

How can we reconcile our consciences and hope to enter the kingdom of heaven with pure hearts? Quite frankly, we can't. We can only hope that the Lord in heaven will be a little more forgiving and have more mercy than we had on earth.

10-21-46

For a simple test as to whether a person is going to be able to enter the abode above, do this: First, ask him on Sunday if he is a God-fearing man and lives righteously and kindly; listen carefully to his answer. Secondly, during the week, in the privacy of his home or shop, ask him what he thinks of "them niggers." Listen very carefully and you will hear his soul speaking; you will know whether or not this man is doomed.

GARLAND E. EVERS.

Richmond RFD.

PESTBROOK WIGLER, ROVING REPORTER

Daily Worker - New York, N.Y.

"Ah know'd there'd be trouble if they let that Negro come here to play."

Tues. 11-5-46

So. Carolinian Pays Honor to Ga. Lynchers, Talmadgeites

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Sat. 8-17-46

CHARLESTON, S.C. — (ANP)—A card of Thanks to those who elected Eugene Talmadge governor and lynched four colored citizens at Monroe, Ga., two weeks ago, appeared in the evening paper, here, last Friday.

In a space one column wide and three inches deep, the Charleston Evening Post carried the following display advertisement, August 2:

"We Thank You
GEORGIA
For Your
FIGHT AND VICTORY
For Southern Principles
A resident of Charleston, S.C.
J. A. Thwett"

Leaders here tend to regard the message as a tribute to the lynchers, as it was published a week after the mass lynching occurred, whereas the ad might have been published several days before the lynching. General opinion is that it was in praise of both happenings.

The Negro, North and South

Times-Dispatch Richmond, Va.

Republished from the Orange Review, Orange, Va.

Sat. 10-19-46

WE QUOTE, with full approval from an editorial in the Florida Sentinel, a Negro paper published in Tampa, written by its editor, C. Blythe Andrews:

"Since the orgy of lynchings in Georgia, Louisiana and Mississippi, there have been some to urge Negroes to flee North.

"Those who have been North don't find a bed of roses. Things are just as bad up there as down here, and perhaps worse for the men and women who have no trade or profession.

"The jobs may pay more money up there but living conditions are bad and overcrowded and costs are so much higher.

"The Negro gets along pretty well in the South if he wants to work and tend to his business. Many of us don't want to work, and the few days we do, we throw away our earnings in foolish things.

"There is no social equality up North and down South, neither among black folks or white folks. There is no such animal on earth. The politicians talk about it when they run out of issues, but there never did exist any such thing as social equality.

"The Negro need not run North seeking greater opportunities. All we need to do is drop our buckets where we are. If we work hard, use common sense and save our money, we can get along better in the South than anywhere else.

"The forces of liberalism are growing in the South, and the Negro is getting a better deal. Our schools are better, our teachers are better paid, and here and there we are getting better living conditions and parks and playgrounds.

"The police courts are showing definite improvement. They used to railroad us through these courts in most Southern cities for revenue only. Whenever the fine and forfeiture fund showed a slump, the Negro section was raided and droves of our people were passed before a heartless judge who filched our little earnings or sent us to the stockade to do free labor.

"Those days are passing fast in most Southern cities. Men selected for city judges and police chiefs are of higher type and usually are first-class men who try to run their departments with a sense of fairness. Tampa is especially in this respect because Judge Potter and Chief Eddings are two men of the highest type.

"Here in Florida, I was born and reared and here in Florida I plan to die. If there be any who don't like my presence; or my looks they'd do well to move. I ain't going nowhere!

"That ought to be the gospel of every hustling Negro, no matter where he was born or how much education he may possess. We ought to plan to stay here and improve our lot in the South and enjoy life here and get along with everybody else.

"When we rush North we make things bad for those who are already there. We crowd into apartments and force rents up. Our conduct, which is sometimes bad, is just the same up there, and as a result all Negroes are judged by the sorry way we act.

"Let's stop all this silly rot about going North just because something happened in Georgia, or somewhere else in the South. That's likely to happen in Detroit, where there was a riot, or any other Northern city."

That sane and sound comment and advice should be read and heeded by Negroes, North and South. It gives the answer to the charge, frequently heard of late, that the Negro is abused, penalized in the South. It is a rebuke to Paul Robeson, who used insulting and threatening language on a recent visit to the White House. It depreciates the flashy groups which are calling for drastic action against the South because of recent lynchings and racial clashes, ignoring the fact that such outbreaks occur in other sections. We congratulate Editor Andrews on having the courage and fairness to write the truth about the situation. He is a living demonstration of the fact that a Negro can be a good citizen and a wise counselor.

Says 1946 Saw Setback In Race Relations In South

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

By ALBERT ANDERSON
(For Associated Negro Press)

The historian in the next generation will in all probability set 1946 down as the year when certain gains made in race relations in the south faced certain and dangerous setbacks. While they were mostly gains made temporarily as a result of the needs for unity in the nation during the war years, the swiftness with which the forces of reaction asserted themselves was definitely disappointing.

Sat. 1-4-47

Unspeakable brutality was exhibited by southern police in arresting and murdering of Negroes in cold blood. The gouging out of the eyes of Isaac Woodard by a Batesburg, S. C., police chief and his subsequent exoneration and the fiasco of a federal grand jury hearing of witnesses in the Monroe, Ga., lynching case of last July will remain dark and sore spots in race relations for the year.

BOLD REACTION

The emergence of the Ku Klux Klan in open defiance of both the warning of Arnall and warnings from the department of justice in Washington was symbolic of the boldness of the forces of reaction so far as race relations are concerned. The hate campaign and other activities of the Columbians, Inc., added another dark chapter to the race problem for the year.

The decisions of the U. S. Supreme court outlawing white primaries and the segregation of the races on interstate buses, while furnishing a bright spot in the year's record, served as the pivotal points around which demagogues like Theodore G. Bilbo and the late Eugene Talmadge and Negro haters like leaders of the Ku Klux Klan, Columbians, Inc., and others centered their propaganda for "white supremacy."

When the old year passed into oblivion only one investigation of racial disorder of all the probes undertaken during the year measured up favorably as a job done with some degree of objectivity and that was the Lawrenceburg riot trials. And the results obtained in this probe illustrate effectively the high cost of justice in America, particularly where Negroes are concerned.

RISK BODILY DANGER

Counsel for the 25 Negroes involved in the riot trials risked bodily danger daily while the hearings were on and the NAACP and other organizations had to spend large sums of money to carry the case to a successful conclusion.

The FBI investigation of the lynching of two Negro men and their wives near Monroe, Ga., last July was a complete flop. It indicates the paradoxical fact that the federal government is impotent when it comes to enforcing simple provisions of the U. S. constitution in the south where Negro citizens are concerned.

Tom Clark, President Truman and Edgar Hoover, FBI chief director, never intended, apparently, to put pressure in any of the cases of the year involving denial of constitutional rights to Negroes. What 1946 illustrated in this regard is that we are not as far from 1857 — the year when Chief Justice Taney said "the Negro has no rights that the white man is bound to respect"—as we thought we were.

ARNALL COMMENDED

Politicians and business men and women are too close to the dirt and filth of life to make the headlines in constructive and liberal interracial work. For this reason Gov. Ellis Arnall of Georgia is a beacon of light of hope. He was the outstanding liberal white in the south for 1946 in the political field. But for him we have to thank the liberal white educators, sociologists, churchmen and women of the south.

The leadership of the Southern Conference for Human welfare headed by Dr. Clark Foreman, another liberal educator, and certain liberal white groups and liberal leaders of organized labor in the south did a magnificent job to improve race relations during the year. But for their work the forces of hate and reaction would have had a clean sweep.

The organizing campaigns of the CIO and AFL in the south had not proceeded far enough to influence greatly race relations in 1946. But during 1947 the liberal south's interracial program will have an acid test in union activities. Successful unionism like war requires solidarity among those offected. How it will work in 1947 remains to be seen.

THE NEGRO POINT OF VIEW

Editor, The Advertiser: *Montgomery, Ala.*

From time to time there appear in The Advertiser articles on the Negro or the so-called race problem. These articles are usually written by your white readers. I had hoped that some Negro would write an article to correct some of the mistakes and misunderstandings so often portrayed in these articles. For some reason, those who could make a better reply than I, have failed to do so. *Mon 4-1-46*

Presently my attention is called to the reprint from The Southern Lumber Journal which appeared on page four of The Advertiser, March 26 issue. First I want to express my deep appreciation to the writer of the above mentioned article for the following statement which he made: "Please don't think I am in favor of subjecting the Negro to continued poverty or suppression. Quite the contrary, it is my firm belief that the black people of our country should have the same opportunities for higher attainment that are the heritage of our white people". May I say here that the same or equal opportunities for this attainment is all that the Negro wishes. We do feel however, that these opportunities can be granted with much less confusion than is made over the matter. *Montgomery Advertiser*

But in writing about the Negro we find that our Southern white friends make the same mistakes that our Northern friends make. The Northern writer poses as one who understands the race problem, and the Southern writer poses as one who understands the Negro. The truth is that neither understands neither.

Negroes are accused of being satisfied and content. That is not so. Negroes sometimes appear to be satisfied but it is because he has been forced to resign himself to the conditions forced upon him. If one sees a chicken in a coop eating and apparently content, not butting his head against an unyielding wall trying to get out, it is no proof that he does not want to get out. Yet Negroes do butt their heads against the wall quite constantly. Some think that only the upper bracket of Negroes are dissatisfied and protest. But the most dissatisfaction and vengeful feelings are often found among our uneducated and laboring class of Negroes. He conceals this from the white man because of what is generally termed, "intimidation." But to the Negro leader his complaints are loud and strong.

Those who often write about the Negro are not quite fair to Negroes when, as they so often do, they use most ignorant and loathsome Negroes for a comparison of all Negroes. Negroes sometimes like to be thought of as individuals and not referred to as "the Negro." Yet when these persons consider the white race they take the best in the race for comparison. The truth is that both races have both good and bad. The writer in The Southern Lumber Journal said that "The Negro is endowed by nature with an enviable unconcern about the future or its problems". Those who have studied nature, especially human nature, know that nature has no such endowment. One thing our white friends don't seem to understand is that many Negroes act like they do because of the predicament they are in—a condition they are in by force, not by choice. In other words, Negroes are often forced into conditions of poverty and ignorance and then penalized for being ignorant.

Some who write about the Negro or so-called race problem seem to think that they have a strong point when they refer to "only four generations removed from slavery, and but a few more than that from savagery". Actually that is no point at all. In the first place, not all Negroes were subjected to slavery. In the second place, the fact that Negroes were in slavery eighty or ninety years ago has nothing whatsoever to do with the possibilities of achievements and adjustments by Negroes of today. We have only to point to the achievements of Negroes where they have had fair opportunities. Slavery is not a thing which is biologically inherited. Savagery is not a thing which is biologically inherited. Any normal person from any place, even from a savage tribe, if placed in a civilization at infancy and alowed to grow up in it will become just as civilized as the other members of that society. And conversely, if you take an infant whose parents represented your highest culture and place it in a savage tribe to grow up, that child would become a savage. These facts have been proved over and over by scientific experiment. Any three or four infants representing any three or four races or cultures, if placed in the same environment with the same opportunities, will make about the same progress irrespective of previous conditions of servitude, savagery, or civilization of their foreparents.

Much is said about outside agitation and rabble rousers. I admit that such persons often do more harm than good. But Negroes still remember that had it not been for the outside agitators and rabble rousers, they would probably still be in slavery waiting for the slow evolutionary process in which so many take refuge when discussing this problem. It may be however, that the rabble rouser has had his day and the present calls for straight, sober and honest thinking. But many who would aid in the solution to race relations start out wrong when they assume that any segment of the Negro race is satisfied and content at being denied their full inalienable and constitutional rights. *Mon 4-1-46*

In closing I want to say that in spite of all that is said to the contrary, the strongest argument for the Negro is incidentally the greatest cause of all, and that is the cause of justice and fairness to all. We recognize that there are many fine white people who honestly believe that Negroes should be accorded their full rights. All Negroes are grateful for such people, and for the things they say and do toward extending to Negroes their rights as American citizens.

J. D. THOMPSON.

Cottage Grove, Alabama.

Thinks We're Unfair to the South

Courier-Journal

To the Editor of The Courier-Journal: *Louisville, Ky.*

I am an American from the South. You have used so much of your editorial space these past several years in deriding us as Tories or Bourbons or hotspurs, you should willingly give space to one who is well fed up with either your total ignorance of American history and current affairs or of your specific hatred of a section and its people.

Here are some typical examples of your procedure. You blamed on us the fight against the federal soldier ballot bill in 1944, describing us as being impelled by prejudice and narrowness. You were not fair enough to consider our aim, which was to prevent the federal Government from getting control of our local elections. After the 1944 election results were all in and they showed that the very great majority of soldiers voted the State ballot by choice, you conveniently kept quiet. *Mon 4-11-46*

Since I don't believe you are ignorant, I therefore believe that you must realize that essentially the Southern efforts against a federal anti-poll tax bill are to protect the constitutional right of a State to determine its elections. You overlooked the fact that the initial efforts against poll taxes, against slavery itself for that matter since your type of discussion links the two, were made in the South. Read the anti-slavery appeal by Virginia (joined by the Carolinas and others) to King George III in 1773.

You admitted in your editorials that the recent F.E.P.C. was a bad one. It was, in fact, a vicious one, calculated to do great harm to the mass of respectable white and colored people. Yet, you abused the South for filibustering. The simple truth is that but for the filibuster, this act would today be the law. If the Southern Senators were not trying to help all of us, including the minority of my descent—the English Scotch-Irish—I'll eat my hat and yours too.

And now the school lunch program. According to you the hotspurs of the South dragged a red herring across the stage. This red herring smells wholesome to honest brains because it seeks to prevent the federal Government from getting its hands in the public school systems of the States. In truth most of the Southerners actually supported the program, but the facts remain that the States are themselves able to render this service, and every dollar the federal Government spends comes from the people of the States.

I close by saying, without hesitation, and with reference to editorial after editorial in your columns these past few years, that your distortion and abuse of Southern motives applies as well to those of Congress, especially the House of Representatives. This is a typical example of your attitude: Take a look at your "High Lights of Day's Radio Programs," March 4 issue. You did not mention "Congress on the Air" under public affairs, and you haven't done so in months to my knowledge!

J. Y. KERR.

Louisville.

Who Knows the Negro?

Richmond Times Dispatch

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

Raymond W. Ewell had a right to express his resentment in his February 21 letter concerning being called "uneducated," for no one wants to be called uneducated or ignorant, however guilty. But when Mr. Ewell asks, "Who is better equipped, better educated, to deal with the Negro question than the Southern citizen?" the answer obviously is, "Any American citizen who lives in some section of America where association with Negroes is not a crime punishable by law." *Va.*

The oft-repeated statement that Southerners are best qualified to deal with Negroes because they know Negroes better than other Americans is utterly false, for no American has less dealings with Negroes than Southerners. Except in some servile or menial capacity Negroes are not permitted to associate with their white fellowmen in the South. They do not attend the same school or the same church, they do not ride together on public carriers or attend the same social functions. From birth to death Negros and white people in the South live and move and have their being in different spheres, and when they die, they are buried in different cemeteries.

The truth is, Negroes are less known by people of the South. Otherwise, why the cruelty, injustice and abridgement of liberty suffered by Negroes? Dr. John Knox of Chicago Theological Seminary, in his article "We are Divided," tells of visiting a prominent white minister in a large Southern city and being surprised to find that the minister did not know any of the prominent Negro leaders of that city whom Dr. Knox named. The minister was equally surprised that a white man from Chicago should have known anything about these Negroes. It would be naive to ask which of these two men is better qualified to deal with Negroes and their problems.

F. H. AUSTIN.

Harper's Ferry, W. Va.

Negro Pays More for Less

Times Dispatch

Editor of The Times-Dispatch: *Richmond, Va.*

No, the South is not as bad as it might be, as Virginius Dabney so well shows in the current Saturday Review of Literature, but to me it was a slap in the face when the Supreme Court had to tell us that we should deal justly and if a colored person is doing similar work he should receive similar pay. The people seem to be morally blind or impotent in matters relating to colored people. *Fri 4-19-46*

For example, the railroads of the South are systematically robbing the colored people and probably will continue to do so until the Supreme Court speaks again and tells us that if a colored person pays first-class fare he should not receive second-class service. The moral paralysis is so complete that no one seems even to recognize it as an injustice.

E. C. L. MILLER.

Richmond.

EDUCATION VS. PREJUDICE

Birmingham Ala. News

Increased education in the South would mean less race friction, college presidents and school superintendents in 12 Southern states agreed unanimously in a poll analyzed recently.

Observation, as well as reason, shows this to be true. The recent college graduate, in nearly all cases, is more tolerant and more desirous of racial understanding than his public school classmate who went to work early. This fact may arise from the effort of colleges to instill the liberal ideal, the concept of mankind's inalienable dignity, into the student. *Thurs. 4-11-46*

Hope for racial tolerance in the South lies largely with the young. Recently, while students at Huntsville High and other Alabama schools were participating in an oratorical contest with "Racial and Religious Tolerance as a Means to Lasting Peace" as their topic, a race riot occurred in Tennessee.

Since then, the burning of fiery crosses in Birmingham and the registration of the Ku Klux Klan as a "fraternal" organization—note the irony of that, remembering that the Klan stands for the denial of human brotherhood—in Georgia, indicate that the ignorant, mindless, evil force of persecution is on the march again. *Thurs. 4-11-46*

There is little hope of educating older Southerners of the lower classes who feel the necessity of asserting constantly their superiority over the Negro—fearing, perhaps subconsciously, that no one would notice the superiority unless they pointed it out.

The only cheerful prospect lies in the increased enlightenment and broadening of the young Southern mind. It is encouraging to note that educators are agreed that one of their jobs is the promotion of understanding between human beings.—Huntsville Times.

HOW BAD IS THE SOUTH?

Montgomery, Ala. Advertiser — Sun 4-21-46

Virginius Dabney, distinguished Southern author and editor of the Richmond Times-Dispatch, takes the critics of the South to task in an article in the Saturday Review of Literature. He asks the question, "Is the South that bad?" and proceeds to cite some of the reasons critics of the South generally fail to comprehend why the South acts that way.

An uncommon amount of attention is focussed upon the South compared to that which is given other geographic regions of the nation. The reason probably is that the South once attempted to set itself apart as a separate government and, in defeat, has been forever after considered as an absolutely homogenous region. That is not exactly true, but there is more truth in that conception of the South than would be in a similar conception applied to other geographic areas, say, for instance, the industrial East, the Middle West, or the West. In each of those areas there is a wide diversity of political sentiment, racial background, social customs, and economic predilections. Among those states which are severally considered as comprising the South there is some diversity of condition along the lines cited which split other regions, but the lines are by no means as sharp at present and they were a lot less sharp a generation ago. As industrialization of the South proceeds, as it will no matter what else happens, the lines of division will be accentuated and the idea of the South as a true entity will some day be completely false.

Mr. Dabney takes up first the most ubiquitous complaint against the South, its handling of race relations in regard to the Negro. He writes:

"Most articulate of all the South's critics are those who are outraged by its handling of the race problem. All Southern whites, including the 'liberals,' are written down by some of these observers as hopeless reactionaries, if not frauds and hypocrites, even Fascists. In their view, a Southern white is ipso facto beyond redemption.

"It must be conceded that the Sotuh, like the North, has a good deal to answer for its treatment of the Negro. The South has not given its colored population the consideration it should have had in the spheres of education, health, welfare, housing, and related fields. Southerners ought to have done more in the past, and they must do more in the future. But various Southern organizations are addressing themselves vigorously to this problem, and before the whole region is despaired of, let us recognize that there is an authentic desire on the part of thousands of white Southerners to bring about genuine improvement in the Negro's status. One significant piece of evidence that conditions are improving is to be found in the virtual extinction of lynching. . . .

"It is important for our Northern critics to bear in mind that the race problem in the South has aspects which are nowhere present in other sections. A paramount consideration here is the proportion of the population which is colored in the various regions. In eight Southern States the percentage of Negroes ranges from twenty-five in Virginia to forty-nine in Mississippi, whereas the figure is only five per cent in Illinois, New Jersey, Oho, and Pennsylvania, the non-Southern states with the highest proportion of colored citizens. Obviously this means that there are vital aspects of the problem between the Potomac and the Rio Grande which are not glimpsed elsewhere. Not only do the Negroes virtually equal the whites in numbers in one Southern state, and heavily outnumber them in scores upon scores of Southern counties, but the South is still haunted by memories of Reconstruction. . . .

"Unquestionably there are many irreconcilable Negrophobes in the South. Their spokesmen are such men as Eugene Talmadge, Theodore Bilbo, and James Eastland. But there are also many men and women of fine impulses and humantiarian inclinations who are working with zeal, sincerity, and determination for better and fairer interracial relations.

"Yet, when all these things are admitted, it should also be said that many Southerners with the best of will for the Negroes do not regard a permanent FEPC with power to fine or jail employers for violations as the solution of the colored people's employment problem. In this they agree with certain eminent liberals in the North who oppose this type of legislation, on the ground that you can't rid people of prejudices by passing laws. Oswald Garrison Villard, Bernard Flexner, and Elinore M. Herrick will hardly be charged by any informed person with harboring racial or religious prejudices, but they were among those who opposed the law passed recently in New York State which forbids discrimination in employment on racial or religious grounds. They, and those in the South who feel as they do, are of the opinion that this kind of legislation inflames prejudices instead of allaying them. . . .

"Some of the major criticisms of the Sotuh's interracial record emanate from New England. Yet how account for the fact that in 1940 there were only about 100,000 colored persons in the six New England states combined? The climate isn't the answer. The city of Chicago, which is almost cold enough for the Esquimos, contains several times as many Negroes as the whole of New England. I have been informed by a prominent colored leader that the reason why Negroes constitute so infinitesimal a fraction of the population east of the Hudson is that influential New Englanders in key positions have adopted a quiet, but deliberate, policy of preventing Negroes from getting jobs, and of freezing out those who already have them. Boston was the chief center of the Abolitionists in the antebellum era, but it was also the seat of the African slave trade's most prosperous impresarios."

Mr. Dabney argues well, but the trouble is that few of those who should will heed his words. The South will continue to get its lumps from critics who have no sound idea of the problems with which they so glibly deal. However, there is some advantage in this criticism. The tendency of the South has always been to move toward a more equitable arrangement for the Negro, both economically and politically, because the leadership of the South has, in the main, been responsive to humanitarian sentiments. Of course, this movement has been gradual and must always be slow because of the traditional opposition to it. Any strong effort from within at speeding it up would result in a reversal of the trend. However, outside criticism raises such a storm in the South that in general it serves to keep the trend moving toward better advantages for the Negro. It is a sort of self-defense mechanism.

Claghorn's Burlesque

Richmond Times Dispatch 4-24-46

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

I regret your annoyance at the bellowing of the Hon. Beauregard Claghorn as expressed in an editorial reprinted in the New York press.

The real cause for regret, however, is not that Senator Claghorn ridicules the South. Rather, we should regret the existence of such rich material for his satire.

Senator Claghorn ridicules what is funny about the South. In doing so he exposes other things which are ugly, vile and tragic. This, I suspect, is the real cause of your anguish.

If fried chicken, watermelons, magnolias and mockingbirds were the only things on the "Southron's" conscience, Senator Claghorn's burlesque would not disturb you. You could take it.

What disturbs you and all other decent people in the South is the scandalous behavior of certain gentlemen from Mississippi. You deplore Jim Crow, lynching and other un-American practices. Claghorn annoys you because you are ashamed to confess, even to yourselves, that you are not yet strong enough to clean house thoroughly.

Recently a speaker addressed a Bridgeport audience on the topic, "Secretary Byrnes and World Democracy." This damyankee's conclusion may interest you. "God forbid," he said, "that the most shamelessly oppressed people on earth should be dragged by Mr. Byrnes down to the level of his own State of South Carolina." (Applause).

I beg you to listen to Senator Claghorn and laugh that you may not weep.

FRANK R. KENNELL.
Bridgeport, Conn.

Our Impure Democracy

Richmond Times Dispatch — Sunday 5-2-46

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

H. L. Baptist, of Hampton, requests a definition of democracy in his letter published by The Times-Dispatch April 26.

I like the literal meaning of the word democracy—the people's power. Whether or not this power is exercised so that legislation represents the wishes and changing needs of the majority is the responsibility of the people. If, as Mr. Baptist states, our government is run by the minority, there must be one of two conclusions:

(1) That there is a general indifference on the part of the people as evidenced in the failure of most citizens to take an active part in political affairs and in the lack of interest in voting.

(2) That our government is influenced greatly by minority groups interested in reaping benefits for themselves (lobbying or "the Third House"), these groups controlling the voters through deceit.

The type of democracy we have is another consideration. It is my belief that ours is representatve, not pure, democracy. Whether or not our representatives stand for the majority is again the responsibility of the people.

Mr. Baptist questions references in the press to our undemocratic treatment of the Negro. The Negroes are not asking for control of the government. All they wish is equality in education, cultural advantages, income, and other opportunities. These are their privileges or rights as citizens. Segregation and other Jim Crow practices are the equivalent of the race superiority taught by the Nazis.

FLORENCE W. D. CRANE.
Richmond.

SOVIET WRITER SAYS NEGROES MAY REBEL

New York Times — Sunday 7-26-46

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, July 25—Predicting that the South is on the eve of "decisive" events—"either the slave owners will retreat or the Negroes, yesterday's war veterans, will start a war for equality," Ilya Ehrenburg's series of articles on the United States today continued its attack on racial inequality.

The noted Soviet writer, who recently returned from a tour of the United States, said the "blacks still remain slaves," even when they move from agriculture to industry in the South, and that "adventurers and demagogues" who lead many trade unions in the South incite racial hatred among white workers.

Mr. Ehrenburg concludes from what he saw that the southern Negro cannot continue to submit to present conditions. In Mississippi today, he declares, the whites shudder when they think "of the mass of disinherited and enraged people who one day may get fed up with singing hallelujah in the expectation of the next hanging" of Negro soldiers. In Europe he noted, no one "looked at them as plague spots," adding that these veterans "returned home with great bitterness."

He maintains the thesis that either the whites will have to give way or the Negro war veterans will start a war for equality.

After citing the number of cases of discrimination before the courts in the South and lack of education for the Negro—the "Southern Democrats' prefer the whip to the ABC's"—Mr. Ehrenburg chooses Senator Theodore G. Bilbo as the leader of the slave owners. This "red headed, red nosed "demagogue" drinks whiskey at home and milk in public, according to Mr. Ehrenburg, and his one theme in all his speeches is "terrify the colored."

Thomaston, Ga., Times
Sept. 19, 1946

Negro Situation

One of the contributing reasons which helps explain why the per capita income of the South is much lower than the average for the nation is the fact that 25 per cent of the people of the South are Negroes compared with only 10 per cent for the nation at large or 3 1/2 per cent for the area outside the South. Anyone familiar with the situation will readily understand why a population composed of one-fourth Negroes would have a lower per capita income than a population 90 per cent white.

This question of race relations, of course, is one of importance in considering the development of the South. Some would have us believe the South has a serious race problem and that it is approaching a crisis. Such is not the case. The South has no race problem; it simply has a race situation. To say that it has a problem would indicate that the South has not yet decided how to handle its relationship with the Negro race. There has never been any question in the mind of the South as to the best way to handle it. It is only the agitators outside the South, who do not understand it or know how to handle it, to whom it appears a problem.

Every State for Itself

Times Dispatch

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

It was with entire accord that I read in today's issue (August 7) of The Times-Dispatch the letter titled "Georgia's Business—Not Ours." I, too, believe that there is entirely too much criticism regarding the actions of our sister Southern States. 8-9-46

It certainly seems that there are considerable and unnecessary remarks about the voting system, race question, murders, Ku Klux Klan, and even the "white supremacy" platform advocated in Georgia and Mississippi. As a Virginian, born and bred, I readily understand what the whites in States farther south have to put up with in regard to the Negro question, and I am of the opinion that outsiders should leave these matters up to each State to cope with in the manner best adapted to it. Richmond, Va.

It is not our business to meddle in their affairs and the more said and written about them the more we lay ourselves open to criticism. It would appear from our election that the majority of Virginians is satisfied with our State government, and I think other States should be accorded the same privilege, without comment.

As to the murders which took place in Georgia recently, the same things happen in the Northern States among gangsters and otherwise, but we in the South do not take it on ourselves to rise up in arms, run screaming headlines in our papers about it, shout it from the housetops, and even approach the Federal government about it.

Richmond. 8-9 E. KIRKMAN.

N'Carolina And Louisiana Sites Of Latest Terror

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
Sun. 8-18-46

"Officers" Lead N. C. Posse On Young Farmhand

(By the Associated Negro Press)

Two more lynchings were revealed this week as the anti-Negro reign of terror continued to grow. One was J. C. Farmer, 20-year-old World War II veteran of Wilson, N. C., who came back determined to resist local fascists after fighting abroad against Hitlerism, and the other was John C. Jones, 28-year-old resident of Minden, La., who was freed after a white woman refused to press charges that he had annoyed her.

This violence comes on the heels of the Athens, Ala., riots, the quadruple lynching in Walton county, Ga., and two additional murders nearby; the blinding of Isaac Woodard at or near Aiken, S. C.; a lynching in Mississippi and the riots in Columbia, Tenn. Revival of the Ku Klux Klan and reelection of the white supremacists such as Bilbo and Talmadge are also involved.

TIED WITH UNION DRIVE

Observers tie up the wave of anti-Negro violence with the southern organizing drive by both AFL and CIO unions. The klan, originally aimed at Negroes, Jews and Catholics, now operate against organized labor, particularly the CIO on the ground that it is "a bunch of communistst." Klan lynching threats have been made against white union organizers.

Since any genuine union drive must include both Negro and white workers, labor leaders point out that interracial trouble hampers organizing efforts by creating additional friction between white and colored workers. The klan is considered a "front" for anti-labor forces.

Other factors include the supreme court white primary decision, the illegality of jim crow interstate bus travel, wartime gains made by Negroes and the militancy of returned veterans. All are used by klansmen to inflame

by supposed ABC (alcohol beverage control (officers hunted down and shot to death J. C. Farmer 20-year-old farmhand who lived with his parents on the Thad Sharpe plantation close to Bailey, a small town near here, last Saturday after a fracas between the youth and a constable.

with two friends, a boy and a girl.

The trouble began when Farmer were engaged in play while awaiting a bus at a small stop near Wilson. Constable Bissette who drove by, ordered Farmer into his car.

When the youth replied that he had "done nothing," the officer struck him with a blackjack and drew his gun. Again ordered into the car, a scuffle ensued in which the veteran seized the weapon and shot Bissette through the hand. Farmer then fled. Daily World

VICTIM AMBUSHED

A mob was formed and between 20 and 25 armed white men in seven or eight cars began a hunt for the youth. They ambushed him close to his home and killed him while his mother, Mrs. Mattie Farmer, looked on from her porch about 100 yards away. Atlanta, Ga.

When she reached the side of her dying son and exclaimed "You've killed him," one lyncher told her, "He ought to be killed I'd kill him myself."

Mrs. Farmer said that although the ex-GI still had the constable's gun, he did not attempt to use it when he was surprised by the mob and shot from ambush. No inquest was held.

SOVIET WRITER PREDICTS CHANGE FOR SOUTHLAND

Atlanta, Ga.
Daily World.

MOSCOW—(ANP)—Warning that the south is at the brink of a change where "either the slave owners will retreat or the Negroes, yesterday's war veterans, will start a war for equality," Ilya Ehrenburg continues his articles on racial inequality in the United States.

Mr. Ehrenburg, who recently returned from a tour of America, declared the southern Negro cannot endure much longer the deplorable conditions as they exist. In mississippi, the writer said, "whites shudder when they think of the mass of disinherited and enraged people who one day may get fed up with singing hallelujah in the expectation of the next hanging of Negro soldiers." 8-6-46

These veterans, having returned from Europe where they were not considered "plague spots," are filled with bitterness, Ehrenburg contends. Either whites will have to bend or the Negro war veterans will start a war for equality, he predicts.

CONSISTENT THEME

Referring to Mississippi's Bilbo as a "red headed, red nosed demagogue who drinks whiskey at home and milk in public," Ehrenburg cites him as the leader of the slave owners, and recalls his consistent theme as one determined to "terrify the Negro." Tues

Even when, and if, they move from agriculture to industry in the south, the "blacks will remain slaves," the writer forecasts, and states that many trade unions in that section incite racial hatred among white workers.

Enumerating the cases of discrimination before the courts in the south and the lack of education for the Negro, Ehrenburg concludes that the "Southern Democrats prefer the whip to the ABC's."

Refuge From "Jim Crow"

The News and Courier Charleston, S. C.

All colored persons who consider themselves "Jim Crowed" in the South should go to the North and West while the going is good, for it is loudly and incessantly proclaimed that in those regions "Jim Crow", so-called, is unknown. Eighty-odd years ago a "fugitive slave law" was sometimes enforced, and there was, besides, an "underground railroad" by which negroes could seek and (sometimes) find refuge in the North. Now, any negro not decrepit or a pauper can go to the North or to the West and find a cordial welcome in the great cities, especially in election years. Mon. 7-1-46

Negroes Terrorized, Aubrey Williams Says

The Courier Journal Louisville, Ky.

Special From The New York Times to The Courier-Journal.

New York, Sept. 18.—Aubrey Williams, former head of the National Youth Administration and at present the editor of the Southern Farmer, a journal published in Montgomery, Ala., today charged that "a reign of terror in the South, where the forces of law are being turned against the Negro is the "worst thing that has happened in the past 40 years."

He said that Negroes are "crucified, not once in a day but several times a day on trains, busses, in stores, wherever they live or seek to work," and that "federal action to date amounts to practically nothing. Negroes are being terrorized by the people who are supposed to protect them." Thurs.

Plan '100 Days' of Protest.

Williams spoke here today in the interest of the American Crusade to End Lynching, an organization sponsored by more than 100 persons who have set September 23—84 years after Abraham Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation—as the beginning of "100 days" of protest against mob violence.

Paul Robeson, the singer, presided over the conference.

"The time has come when the American people have got to give attention to this American front," Williams said. "We need to use every means at our hands to arouse the moral indignation of the people."

"The answer is not in military government for the South," he said. "I am worried about the intrusion of the Army in civilian affairs already — including the business of the atomic bomb. We have got to have law enforcement in the South, but it should be civilian in character." 9-19-46

'A National Problem.'

The problems of the Negro are now "a national problem," Dr. Harlow Shapley, director of the Harvard Observatory, said, "with national as well as international implications. Now is the time to ask the candidates for public office their attitude toward this important American business."

Robeson said that he was on the verge of despair about the rise of violence against Negroes. He said that he had "experienced race prejudice of the meanest kind on the West Coast, in the East, the Middle West as well as in the South."

"This is a horrible situation and nothing has been done yet by the Federal Government. The American people are very disturbed, but nothing is being done. We believe that the Department of Justice has the means in the law at their disposal. But to date, there is not an indictment against lynch mobs and not a single conviction." The Courier Journal

No Action From Clark.

Mrs. Harper Sibley, of the United Council of Church Women, said that her organization has addressed many telegrams to Attorney General Tom Clark, "but

to date we have received answers but not action."

A mass meeting in Washington in the auditorium of the Department of Labor is planned for September 23 in the interest of a federal anti-lynching bill, it was announced.

—— Let's Face It -

North Trusts Subsidize Ga. Terr

By Max Gordon —

LAST Friday, the press reported that Ilya Ehrenburg, in a series of **Izvestia** articles on the United States had called race tension America's "fiercest illness," and had predicted violent outbreaks in the South.

On Saturday the press reported the lynchings of five Negroes in Georgia.

Ehrenburg recently traveled through the South. He had sensed what many of us who have been there have also, if more dimly, felt—the terrific tension, the fierce longing of the Negro people for freedom and equality, the hatred toward the Negro, based on fear, of many whites, a fear that comes from a knowledge of guilt and the danger of retribution.

The tension grows as the forces of progress continue to advance in one direction while an increasingly virulent and desperate reaction pulls in the other.

Southern feudalism could not, of itself, maintain its power in the South today. Its economic foundations have been largely undermined. If its political power has not collapsed, it is because it is being sustained by Northern finance capital It was the same in Germany, where the Junkers retained their political power long after they had declined as a class only because of their political marriage with the financiers and industrialists.

Clark Foreman, of the Southern Conference of Human Welfare, revealed one slight aspect of that marriage in America the other day when he charged that the Bilbo and Talmadge election campaigns had been financed by Northern capital.

Those who doubt that American finance capital would orientate its foreign policy upon support of the lowest criminal, fascist barbarians and colonial overseers in other lands, should take note of the fact that it finances the election campaigns of the Bilbos and Talmadges in America.

Much of the terror in the South in the past has stemmed from efforts of the plantation owners to keep the Negro people on the land. Southern Congressmen have even succeeded in having laws passed in recent years aimed at preventing the sharecroppers and the farm hands from leaving.

Today there is added to this motive the desire to prevent the Negro people from exercising political rights. But this economic motive still operates. And as the job becomes ever tougher, the terror grows.

Negro soldiers returning from the war refuse to go back to work on the plantations for $5 a week when they get $20 a week unemployment compensation.

Thus, the well-to-do farmers try to drive them back with terror. In Tennessee and in Georgia the attacks on Negro vets were stimulated by this resentment of wealthy farmers against Negro vets who insisted upon working only when they received decent wages.

There was a time, some 75 years ago, when the people of the North sat back while the KKK ran hog-wild in the South, pillaging, burning, robbing and killing until it had destroyed the democratic Reconstruction governments and had again set up slave rule.

It was this that marked the alliance of Southern feudalism and Northern capital, after Northern capital had smashed the power of Southern feudalism in the bloody Civil War and had become frightened at the revolutionary power it had loosed with the abolition of slavery.

It cannot be doubted that this alliance was a good deal for capital. Among other things, it has had the Southern polltaxers in Congress to depend upon in defeating progress.

But it most certainly was not a good deal for the people of America — North or South. We have been paying heavily for it ever since. We cannot afford to let it go ahead, or we will have a repetition of Germany here.

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There are, however, other aspects of the fight for progress in the South that require attention. One is the organization of the sharecroppers and farm hands by a genuinely progressive body, such as the CIO Food and Tobacco Workers, which has several food processing plants already organized. Despite the rapid industrialization during the war, the South is still predominantly agricultural, and labor may find itself isolated politically if it does not win allies on the countryside, as the Talmadge election in Georgia showed.

The people of the North are aiding in bringing progress to the South through their national labor organizations. But there is also the need of direct intervention against the lynchers and the Talmadges and Bilbos who provoke them through the massing of public sentiment for Federal action, through passage of anti-polltax, anti-lynch and FEPC legislation, and through the passage of measures aiming at smashing the plantation system.

Race still uneasy as strife mars U. S. scene

Negroes in the United States, especially in the South, continued an uneasy existance this week as several new racial altercations were reported and both state and federal authorities failed again on their promise to prosecute those guilty in the recent lynchings.

Perhaps the most serious interracial fracas took place in Houston, Tex., where an angry crowd of Negro men and women disarmed a white policeman, beating and stamping him to the ground, when he went to the rescue of his partner, who was shot to death. One Negro also died in the melee. The beaten officer, Thomas B. Hambley, said he and his partner were trying to stop a free-for-all at a Negro cleaning shop when the shootings occurred. The area was put under martial law; about 50 state and city officers were summoned to the scene; and 19 Negro suspects were seized.

A near-riot broke out between Brooklyn Negroes and whites, ending in the stabbing of four white men and arrest of four Negroes, two of them women, charged with felonious assault. Bad feeling has smouldered in the area, the Ocean Hill section, especially since the alleged shooting of a Negro boy and man by a white man who is now being held on $20,000 bond. Ocean Hill is occupied mainly by Negroes and Italians.

In Escatawpa, Miss., police used bloodhounds to try and locate a Negro who allegedly robbed a white man and attacked his woman companion as they were out riding.

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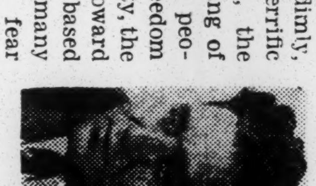

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IN HIS TRADITION

Abe Lincoln's Fight

Daily Worker New York

AS AMERICA celebrates Abe Lincoln's birthday today, the forces he fought and presumably defeated are once again riding high.

We say "as America celebrates." Yet it is well to remember that there is a large section of America which does not celebrate his birthday, which still looks upon him and the democracy he stands for with undisguised hatred.

It was the attempt of the ruling class of that section, the feudal South, to strengthen its deadly grip upon the nation that precipitated the Civil War. 2-12-46

Today, that same southern ruling class, allied with monopoly capital, is once again fighting to tighten its grip upon America and to impose its will upon the whole people. It scored a major success when it prevented the FEPC from getting to the Senate floor. It scored another with House passage of the vicious Case anti-labor bill.

That grip today is far more deadly than it was in Lincoln's day. It represents the seeds of fascism-slavery for the whole people, black and white, North and South.

America, then, has once again to dedicate itself to the struggle against the forces of feudalism and reaction that Lincoln fought.

Southern Comfort

Chicago Sun Time Magazine

Sirs:

. . . The letter from R. Singleton Sims, of Madison, Wis., in your issue of Dec. 3, moves me to protest. . . . 1-21-46

Is [Mr. Sims's] historical background for such a diatribe so superficial that he does not know that it was the north which introduced the black man into this country? . . .

And now, Mr. Sims and other non-Southerners are out to "free" the Negro again; but this time, I am afraid they will have to foot the bill. I don't think any "thoughtful Southerner" is going to be greatly interested in financing this new freedom. . . .

MRS. ORA CHESTER BARBER

Denver

South Way Behind

P.M. New York N.Y.

Clark Foreman, Southern Conference on Human Welfare representative, told the House Ways and Means Committee that the 13 Southern States "are farther from the goal of democracy than any other section of the country." He urged the Committee to increase the number of people covered by old age insurance under the Social Security Act. Fri. 3-1-46

Sure. The great American story goes on. Listen to this. House of Representatives, August 1919. James Byrnes (Dem. S. C.) speaking:

Daily Worker

"For any colored man who has become inoculated with the desire for political equality, there is no employment for him in the South. This is a white man's country, and will always remain a white man's country." New York, N.Y.

August, 1946 . . . James Byrnes, Secretary of State. 8-16-46

CAN THE NEGRO BE CONTENT?

Birmingham News, Alabama

To the Editor of The News:

Courts have been set up in our city and our state to determine those guilty of lawbreaking and to sentence the guilty to just punishment. Yet a Negro Marine veteran, Timothy Hood, was not given the opportunity to appear before the court. He was shot down in the street after arrest by an officer of the law, Chief E. B. Fant. The officer in this case took the rights of the court and the judge into his own hands. That the Jefferson County solicitor and Coroner T. J. McCollum agreed that this was a case of "justifiable homicide" illustrates once more the unequal justice with which Negroes are treated in Alabama. 2-15-46

A few days ago Sen. John Bankhead told the nation that the Negro people of the South are content and satisfied with conditions in the South. Can any Negro be content and satisfied when he knows that officers of the law have no more respect for his life than this? It is about time for those who dislike adverse criticism of the South to do something to promote equal and exact justice and democracy for all, regardless of race.

DR. J. M. BYAS.

2724½ 29th Avenue, North.

Sparks Implores South To Face Its Problems

Birmingham News Alabama

BY ALYCE BILLINGS WALKER
News Staff Writer

"Alabama could well-nigh be self-sustaining if we directed our energies toward an integrated economy that provided first for all of our own needs," Gov. Chauncey Sparks told members of the Birmingham Rotary Club in an address yesterday at their luncheon-meeting, in which he telescoped things which have contributed to "unfavorable circumstances" in which the South finds itself.

Discriminatory freight rate structures, other trade barriers, lack of education, failure to implement natural resources, a race problem and politics were cited by the governor as contributing to the South's and Alabama's retarded economic and social condition, along with a spirit of inertia that is satisfied to get along with what served our forebears and a fear that change will leave us behind in the game.

"We perhaps are not altogether as progressive as we should be. We do not always face squarely those things which have proved themselves to be necessary," the governor said in prefacing his own remarks that pulled no punches.

2-14-46 * * *

ON THE RACE QUESTION he said, "Our Negro population is at the depths in income and wealth. If it were higher up the scale, Alabama would be more prosperous. . . . The South is fixed in its views upon two matters: first, absolute segregation; and, second, no social equality. These basic principles are no handicap to the progress, side by side, of the two races. The one which has had long experience in the development of civilization should encourage the other to a high achievement. . . . It is an investment in the prosperity and contentment of all of us to nourish the education, well-being, health, better home life, morale, determination, and spirit of our colored people."

In relation to this problem, the governor struck out at Fair Employment Practices Commission with "any attempts to inflict upon the South legislation or practices which violate our fundamental conceptions will do no good, and may be expected to retard substantially our internal growth. The effort to place upon our people what is called a Fair Employment Practices Commission is but a scheme to produce, under the guise of economic law, a social condition for which we do not stand and which we cannot accept. Such agitations continue to plague the South are harmful, never helpful. If the individual states desire to enact such laws, let them do so."

WITH THE SAME FRANKNESS, the governor looked at the employer-employe problem, stating:

"Cheap labor is never satisfactory or profitable, either for the employer or the employe. The exploitation of labor for personal gain may enrich a few for a while, but at the immediate expense of the rest and the long-range disadvantage of all." 2-14-46

Avowing his belief that there is a solution to the labor-management problem, the governor continued, "I think we must recognize that the laboring man, who is just as vital in our production scheme as the machine which he operates, has a vested interest in our industry. A fair participation in the fruits of the partnership of worker and owner is but simple justice."

HE CALLED UPON THE SOUTH'S LEADERS to rid themselves of "outworn shibboleths" and recognize that we use terms that seem to, but do not, fit our case because our thinking is loose and often ancient. "So many of us speak the words 'free enterprise' and 'private enterprise' without any accurate conception of what they mean in relation to our present-day life. There can be no absolutely free enterprise any more than there can be an absolutely free individual. Both must submit to regulations necessary among a civilized people. The individual must surrender much to have what society gives him. In like manner, industry must

conform to regulations necessary to an orderly economy. The world is moving on and progressing, but there are among us Rip Van Winkles who mostly dream of years past, waking at intervals to cry loudly to turn back the clock."

The governor challenged that "in our thinking, as well as in our action, we must be willing to accept the new and try it. In our views (the South) upon labor, wages and hours, and conditions of employment, in my opinion, we have failed to match the needs of modern society."

Predicting that if Alabama adjusts herself to the demands of this new era, the governor declared that "she will be in the forefront, not only in the progress of her national but also in the progress of the world."

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Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

RICHMOND—Declaring that the South must change its ways or face a bath in blood, Aubrey Williams, ex-NYA director, now editor of the Southern Farmer, says he has never seen anywhere in the world such bitterness as that in the eyes of colored citizens of the South.

Mr. Williams, one of five speakers on the Tuesday afternoon panel during the conference of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen here last week, added:

Predicts New Civil War

"Unless leadership is provided, we will have bloodshed. Our children will go through another Civil War. Memphis and Birmingham are like gas-filled rooms waiting for a match in the form of any interracial incident to explode the situation."

3-16-46

Other speakers on the panel were Wylie A. Hall, executive secretary of the Richmond Urban League; Kermit Eby, minister and head of the research department, CIO; A. F. Miller, Southern director, Anti-Defamation League, and Harry Reed, executive assistant secretary-treasurer, CIO.

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Second, according to Mr. Hall, is the fact that in every community there are those in and out of official life who are determined by fair or foul means to keep the colored citizen, even the veteran who risked his life to save democracy, "in his place." 3-16-46

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Warning his hearers that there is a "new awakening in the mind of colored citizens," Mr. Hall pointed out that such a pattern of life runs counter to what the enlightened colored citizen knows to be his right and what he is determined to have as an American citizen.

Mr. Miller, on the other hand, pointed out that for the first time since Reconstruction, the colored vote in Atlanta elected a Congressman from the South, said the number of Klansmen has decreased and that in every town and hamlet there are "people who believe in progress and social freedom."

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WHITE MAN'S VIEWS

Graves' Description of White Southerns As 'Religious' Challenged

By TED LE BERTHON

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

Pittsburgh Courier, Pa.

IT is the opinion of John Temple Graves, editor of the Birmingham Age-Herald, that Negroes should simply resign themselves to segregation in the South in order to earn the good will of "millions of decent Southern whites. In the March Negro Digest, Graves declares such whites would be willing to help the Negro if Negro leadership did not ask "the impossible" such as hospitals and schools open to both races. It is fear of segregation being broken down that limits and retards this good will, according to Graves. Right or wrong, he says, white Southerners will insist on segregation, although willing and anxious to help the Negro to better living conditions, "for sound economy's sake, for human society's sake, for Christian decency's sake."

Mr. Le Berthon

Graves observes that "Southerners, by and large, are the most religious people in America, quantitatively speaking," and that many wish to assist the Negro on a segregational basis, "solely because they (the whites) are devoutly religious and consider their God to be the Father of us all."

All such arguments, I insist, are full of the most amazing contradictions. The hallmark of the true Christian is humility, whereas segregation is an obvious expression of race pride. Pride is always listed first among the seven deadly sins, and as the cause of Lucifer's fall. What can Graves mean by "Christian decency"? 3-30-46

HE CONCEDES that it is the white Southerner's fear of terminating segregation that limits his present willingness to help the Negro. But what is there Christian in such an attitude? According to Christ, "perfect love casteth out fear."

When Graves declares that "Southerners, by and large, are the most religious people in America, quantitatively speaking," one can only wonder what he means by "religious." If he refers to the somewhat psychopathic emotionalism that characterized the white evangelist in Lillian Smith's novel, "Strange Fruit," then he is correct. But if the true religious man is one who loves God with all his soul and mind and strength, and his neighbor as himself, Graves is incorrect. For surely, according to this, "the great commandment," the white Southerner should love the Negro as himself. But does he? He doesn't.

The white Southerner doesn't even want the Negro for a neighbor. He looks down upon him as an inferior, not as "a brother in Christ." It is all well enough to prattle about God being "the Father of us all." If that is the case, then we are all God's children, with equal dignity, all of us of all races and nations "made in His image and likeness."

Obviously, the fear that obsesses white Southerners is that if segregation is broken down, the races will intermarry. Southern ministers, educators and politicians have warned that this would "mongrelize" the South. Sat.

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Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

I agree with H. L. Baptist and his letter of April 26 in that I would like a definition for democracy. I would like it explained to me just as you would explain it to Russia.

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Yet, there is such a vast difference in the government of the South and that of the North that I would like the Southern people's explanation of democracy.

The majority of Americans are white, but what about the earth, with two-thirds of its people belonging to dark races? Suppose we succeed in spreading it to the four corners of the earth. Will democracy then mean majority rule?

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Dinwiddie.

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"I wish out Southern white brethrens would lift their horizon and vision and see how American treatment of Negroes hampers our statesmen," he said. He cited the embarrassment of State Secretary Brynes in advocating democracy abroad while being chided by the Russians on the brand in South Carolina.

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How Many More Must He Hurdle?

Soviet Writer Baffled By Dixie Race Relations

(See Page 2 for Ehrenburg Interview)

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—Dixie is a bit puzzling to Soviet Writer Ilya Ehrenburg, who is currently touring the South as guest of the U. S. State Department. 6-1-46

Relations between Negro and white Americans below the Mason-Dixon line were baffling to the Russian author of the novel, "The Fall of Paris."

Ehrenburg, accompanied by his traveling companions, visited the home of a Negro official of a local steel workers' union. The colored union official remarked that relations between Negro and white workers on his job were friendly.

"Do the white workers come to see you in your home?" asked the Russian writer through his interpreter.

"No," replied the union head.

"Do you go to their houses?"

Again the answer was "no."

"How, then, do you mean, friendly?" Ehrenburg queried.

"Well, friendly on the job," the colored worker explained.

"Oh," said the Russian, and turned to other questions.

Ehrenburg, one of three Russian journalists now visiting the United States, is accumulating facts and figures on economic, social and political phases of southern life.

He called on Emery Jackson, editor of the Birmingham World, this week, seeking additional information on Negroes in Alabama. Embarrassed State Department officials cut short the tireless questioning by Ehrenburg when Jackson had to leave because of another engagement.

Although he does not speak English, Ehrenburg has been able to understand for himself many of the contradictions in the "American way of life" in the South.

The Negro's Rightful Place

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

The comments of Henry T. Watkins in The Times-Dispatch for June 21, under the title, "There's Something Rotten," are deeply appreciated by members of the Negro race. It is heartening to realize that today the white man of the South is turning the spotlight of inspection inward and is ridding himself of those ideas that prove totally un-American.

It gives one hope to realize that he is aware of the struggles and sacrifices of the Negro and with increasing frequency is ready to grant him his rightful place in this great country of ours.

The Negro has proved his loyalty to America through the years by his willingness to suffer, fight and die in every struggle that our country has experienced. Since the day of his emancipation (such as it was), the Negro has established a record comparable to that of any racial group in the world. Through the years he has contributed more than his share to the progress of our great country, though much of it has gone unsung.

Sooner or later the people of the South must face the truth—that race discrimination, bigotry and false ideas of white supremacy are not the fundamentals that make any nation or section great or proud. Yet German prisoners of war, who boldly fought to tear down everything that is America, have not suffered the discrimination and humiliation that have been the Negro's portion in the South. 6-26-46

As a colored American woman, who has sacrificed years of life with her husband so that he could volunteer to serve this country, who bought bonds, gave blood, did her share of the war work and made her share of the sacrifices necessary for victory, I am very anxious to know how the Southern white justifies his behavior to Negro Americans. There is no justification in the Constitution, the Bible or the history of the foundation of America. Must there be more bloodshed? Must more lives be lost against these and similar practices before the South recognizes its gross injustices and rectifies them? The Negro does not ask for liberty, justice and pursuit of happiness as a gift. He has toiled patiently and has rightfully earned them, and sooner or later, the Negro must come into his own. So why not now?

(MRS.) JUANITA H. STEWART.
Richmond. Wednesday

Walter White

People, Politics And Places

Reconstructed Southerners

COMMENT HAS BEEN MADE from time to time in this space admittedly upon occasion like whistling in the dark, on the hope to be found among Southern white veterans of World War II who, having through the compulsion of war travelled away from the South and learned to know and respect those they had been taught to despise or hate. That hope is kept alive by the receipt of letters like the one a Negro veteran in Philadelphia has just sent me. The two men had met in the Philippines as they sweated out weeks of waiting to return home. Immersed in boredom and heat and humidity they had found sound basis for friendship.

The reply the white Southerner wrote to a letter from his Negro comrade in arms moved me deeply in its honesty and simplicity. I hope it will move you and give you hope, too. That is why I ask your permission to reproduce it here exactly as it was written: 5-25-46

"Golly Bagby I was surprised and thrilled to hear from you. It's a fine feeling to know that you think enough of me to write.

Same Old Dixie

"I REACHED the states on the 15th of last month and arrived here in Shreveport the 3rd of March. It's sure a grand feeling to be home as I'm sure you already know.

"As to the races in this part of the country, Bagby it's more or less the same as it was when I left. On the trolleys there is a colored section in the back, the depots are the same as well as the theatres. The Negroes seem to accept it down here. Since I've been back I seem to notice these things when before I went into the army I just took it as the normal thing since this has all been here since before I was born. I don't like it and have informed my whole family of the way I and many other boys feel since we are back. Bagby, at first my plans were to get out of the South and go to a section of the country that was more like a true democracy. I've changed my mind now. Bagby, I think I can do more down here feeling as I do and the fact that I am a Southerner than anyone from the North. When I express an opinion down here people will listen to me for they know I was born and lived here all my life. In the morning I am leaving for LSU to take up pre-med. One day I hope to be a doctor and carry some influence in a community in the South. I can do more for my ideals down here. I need material for discussions in which I can put over points which I wish to put over. 5-25-46

Encouraging Note

"HERE'S SOMETHING of encouragement. A very good friend of mine who I went through high school and is going down to college with me has come back from the ETO feeling the same as I. From that you can see that there must be many fellows that feel as we do since they have returned home. I'm thinking of writing one of my first themes on racial problems. It will take me time for I haven't got the background on the subject, only my feeling I

know. *Chicago, Ill.*

"Bagby, people down here have begun to have a guilty conscience. One can see it on their faces when they get on the trolley and there isn't enough room for some colored lady and she has to stand while there are empty seats in the white section. There will be changes Bagby, I know and I hope to have a hand in changing them so I can more than ever be as proud of my part of the country as you are of yours.

"Please write Bagby, I enjoy your letters so much. If at any time I can do anything for you don't hesitate to let me know."

I have written both men that the man in the South will undoubtedly suffer ridicule, attack and perhaps even physical suffering if he sticks to his ideals. But if he and enough like him, aided by understanding and honest friendship by their Negro friends, the hope of a more decent South and America is bright.

Help Distressed to Depart

The News and Courier Charleston, S.C.

With the object of extending succor to the oppressed and relieving the pains and anxieties of uplifters throughout the United States The News and Courier suggests and proposes that the general assembly of South Carolina and those of other Southern states appropriate sums of money to purchase tickets by railroad or bus for all poor people, colored and white, who think themselves maltreated and deprived of rights, so that they can travel to other states where they would get all that is coming to them as American citizens entitled to decent homes, all freedoms and privileges, without discrimination as to race, color or creed.

The tickets should be supplied only to the poor, who have no money to buy tickets, and they should not be return tickets. Each of them should transport a citizen not less than 600 miles from South Carolina's borders and the applicant, white or colored, should swear that he, or she, would not return within two years. The discontented, complaining and obstreperous should be given these free trips. *Sat. 9-14-46*

As for trouble-makers who can afford to buy tickets to Wisconsin, Massachusetts and other civilized commonwealths, (havens for the oppressed of all nations), and who won't buy them, who insist upon remaining, the South Carolinians and other Southerners will deal with them as best they can. We think they can.

Replies to "A Southerner".

The News and Courier Louisville, Ky.

I was not surprised to read the letter signed "A Southerner," because that is the typical attitude of the Southern white man.

He writes that he has happy, carefree Negroes, or colored people as he calls them, working for him, who are doing well, have money in the bank, and are as far as he can see equal to him, except socially. He also writes that if a colored person commits a crime, a white man pays his fine, takes him home and turns him loose. It seems to me that's exactly what the white man in Monroe, Ga., was going to do.

I have yet to hear of any Southern State where Negroes and whites have the same educational opportunities. Where is this State? Why doesn't he name it? *Fri 9-6-46*

According to "A Southerner," the Negro in the North and the Northern white man are misguided and are ill-informed. Maybe, the Negro veteran in South Carolina, whose eyes were beaten out, was misinformed. He thought he was in a real democracy. He was. In the good old South.

"A Southerner" closes with the reminder that they are their brother's keeper. They are. They keep the Negro in the back of the bus. They keep him from voting. They keep him from real economic equality. Indeed they are their brother's keeper.

I wish it were possible for "A Southerner" to be black, as I am, and to go with me for a trip through his beloved Southland and have the real truths shown to him.

THOMAS E. WRIGHT.

Louisville

EXPORTING OUR TALENT

Globe and Independent

The raving over the remarkable prowess of Joe Louis as a ring gladiator, with all fair-minded commentators unreservedly conceding that he is the greatest heavyweight boxing champion of all time, cannot fail to be embarrassing to Southerners who take thought of the way the South treats the members of the champion's race. These would like to lay claim to Joe Louis as a "product of the South." But they dare not do so because they know that Louis, himself, would be the first to "deny the allegation."

Louis knows, as do all Southerners, that the present champion never would have gotten a chance to display his talent had he remained in the South. The South does what Mrs. Roosevelt points out is a besetting sin in the nation. It lets race prejudice deprive the section of much talent that would bless the section if it were given the freedom to aspire and to serve. *Nashville, Tenn.*

If there be those who would dismiss prowess in the boxing ring as nothing to rave about, the contention can be admitted for argument's sake and then move on to a discussion of other kinds of talent possessed by the South's minority but which is not given a chance for self-expression in the land of its nativity. *Fri. 9-27-46*

Jesse Owens, Oscar DePriest, and former Congressman Arthur Mitchell, like Joe Louis, are natives of Alabama. Congressman Dawson, a graduate of Fisk University, is a native of Georgia. The foreparents of Judge Irvin C. Mollison of the U. S. Customs Court were from Mississippi and those of Judge Francis E. Rivers of New York went up from Tennessee. Judge Charles E. Tony also of New York, is another native of Alabama. These are just a few native Southerners, whose records make them notable citizens. Not one of them would say that the land of his birth would have given him the oportunity to succeed that he found in the section to which he migrated.

If the South could boast of a position in national or world affairs higher than other sections there would seem to be some excuse for what it does to thwart the ambitions of its young people. But it does not enjoy any pre-eminence thereby. It will be a great day when the South proclaims and PRACTICES a fair deal with all of its people.

Let's Face It

The Lynchers

By Max Gordon *Daily Worker New York, N.Y. Wed. 8-21-46*

SAUL K. PADOVER'S editorial in last Friday's PM sermonizing on the use of force and violence appeared to be a demonstration of how far we are from realizing what is happening in America today. The editorial was an expression of liberal shrinking from militant activity. Its starting point was the action of the veterans in Athens, Tenn., which, of course, Padover deplored.

Its conclusion was that "social violence anywhere is deplorable and an instrument of tyranny, but in the USA it is particularly to be dreaded because we are a country where animosity always simmers beneath the surface."

I am not here concerned with the question of the veterans of Athens but with the larger issue raised by Padover. Asked by some veterans how you can achieve social gains peacefully when you have the powerful trusts and all their resources arrayed against you, he answered:

"In western civilization, great reforms of lasting benefit to humanity were carried out peacefully, through parliamentary consent or by decree."

I am not advocating general use of force and violence, as some people would like to believe Communists do. But it is time we began to wake up to the fact that unless the federal government is forced to exert some force and violence against the southern slavocracy, which illegally, unconstitutionally and through the use of terror controls some of the states, our "great reforms" will be as "lasting" as they were in Germany.

* * *

BACK in 1877, the people of the North, by and large, sat back quietly while the gov-

But the circumstances of today are not those of 1877. Monopoly capital is faced with a powerful progressive labor movement which is beginning to contest its absolute domination of the country. It is operating in the age of imperialism when world capitalism is in a continuous political crisis. Under these conditions it is constantly driving toward fascism. The violence and illegality against the Negro people, the spread of anti-Semitism and the ever-increasing anti-Communist hysteria are both the symptom and the method.

* * *

PADOVER is an expert on Germany. He should have no difficulty in recalling how German monopoly capital used the semi-feudal Junkers to fan the flames of anti-Semitism and to seize absolute power under

ernment of President Hayes, working hand-in-glove with the remnants of the defeated slavocracy, permitted the KKK to run hog-wild in counter-revolution against the democratic reconstruction governments.

A smokescreen of atrocity tales about violence and illegal acts of the Negroes and poor whites who had set up these governments was let loose to horrify the northern liberals and keep them quiet. I suppose if the Negro people of the South defended themselves from lynching and fought for their legal rights to participate in the political life of the country, we would hear the liberals again clucking "Tush! Tush! No violence, please!"

Because of the growth of the progressive movement in the South, the increasing strength of organized labor and the restiveness of the Negro people, the KKK is riding again, and again with the aid, encouragement and sanction of northern finance capital. The aim is once more to crush progress and to retain in the saddle the most reactionary elements in the nation as an instrument of monopoly capital against the people of the entire country.

the spreading terror against the Jews and Communists.

And his patter about achieving peacefully the great reforms of "lasting benefit" to society! Surely he is aware that this was the exact language of the liberals and Social Democrats of Germany before, during and after the First World War, and how they used them to justify their refusal to smash the power of the Junkers and monopoly capital in the 1919 revolution! Will Padover deny that the world would have been far better off today if that power had been smashed by the German workers in 1919, or if the Nazis had been smashed by force in 1932 when they spread terror throughout Germany?

What I am getting at is that it is now a central job of the people of America to fight for the smashing of the feudal remnants of the South, a fight that will have to be carried out against monopoly capital.

As early as 1779, Tom Jefferson undertook to do it by parliamentary methods. He failed and later "hoped" the slaveowners would themselves give up slavery and turn to other forms of agriculture.

After the Civil War, the American bourgeoisie again made its peace with semi-feudalism and sponsored its restoration. Today, it is not only backing the fight for survival in the South, but it is bitterly attempting to resist the destruction of semi-feudalism in other parts of the world.

We cannot sit back again and let monopoly capital get away with it. Under pressure from the great mass of democratic Americans, the federal government has got to step in, smash the KKK, depose Talmadge, Bilbo and their gang of cutthroats who do not differ essentially from storm troopers; hunt down and execute the lynching terrorists; guarantee free and democratic elections and take steps to undermine the economic base of feudalism, the outworn plantation system.

No Warrant Needed To Jail S. C. Negro

Chicago Defender, Chicago, Ill.

CHARLESTOWN, S. C.—Negroes here can be jailed without the formalities of a warrant, according to Magistrate Jenkins of John's Island.

In a case against county police officer John W. Cox and his sister-in-law, Mrs. J. E. Richburg, accused of stealing and slaughtering a cow, Atty. J. D. E. Meyer, counsel for the defendants asked Magistrate Jenkins:

Sat. 1-5-46

"Mr. Jenkins, isn't it customary for an officer to ask for a warrant before he arrests a man?"

Magistrate Jenkins shot back; "That all depends on who they arrest. They didn't have to show a warrant when they put the little Negro behind bars.

Harlem Is Haven

The complete answer to the colored man, writing from Beaufort, that the white man is the negro's burden is that the negro, in these times, can get out of South Carolina by taking the next train or bus for parts of the United States where he can be elected to congress. The News and Courier invites no contented colored man to leave the state, but it would speed the parting of all those who agree with spokesmen that they are not "treated right" in South Carolina. Any able-bodied person in his right mind can go anywhere in these times, and, as for the maimed, the halt and the blind who can't leave, the charitable should and will see that they do not starve or freeze. For colored people in agreement with the correspondent from Beaufort, Harlem is close to Heaven. *Sat. 6-29-46*

NO MAIL FOR COLORED

COLUMBIA, S. C.—(ANP)—James M. Hinton, state president of the South Carolina NAACP conference, said this week the postmaster general's office had informed him it was investigating an NAACP complaint that letter carriers in the town of Kershaw, S. C., refused to make deliveries to the homes of Negro residents. *6-8-46*

S. C. Man Publishes 'Card of Thanks' To Ga. Lynchers

CHARLESTON, S. C.—(ANP)—A Card of Thanks to those who elected Eugene Talmadge and lynched four Negroes at Monroe, Georgia, two weeks ago appeared in the evening paper here last Friday afternoon.

In a space one column wide and three inch space, the Charleston Evening Post caried the following display advertisement August 2: *Houston, Texas*

"We thank You
GEORGIA
For Your

FIGHT AND VICTORY
For Southern Principles
A resident of Charleston, S.C.
J. A. Thwett"

Leaders here tend to attribute the message as a tribute to the lynchers as it was published a week after it occurred, whereas the ad might have been published several days before the lynching. General opinion is that it is in praise of both happenings. *Sat. 8-17-46*

For Racial Cooperation

News & Courier

To The News and Courier:

Whether or not one is the white man's burden, or the other is the black man's burden, would be of little importance if white and negro South Carolinians of good will, vitally interested in the development of our communities and state, would but practice the simple rules of Christian living. *7-18-46*

There are socio-economic forces propelled by the unswerving principles of natural and human law which demand and will ultimately beget cooperation in spirit and actions between negro and white South Carolinians, just as this racial cooperation is serving as an enriching element in other sections of this evolving New Southland.

We are not interested in amalgamation, miscegenation, white supremacy, or any of the other too long used emotional "booby-traps" that have kept white and negro South Carolinians in the economic gutter, in the educational backwoods, or in the development doldrums. There are thousands like myself, Charlestonians and South Carolinians by birth, who with all our natural dissatisfaction with certain local conditions, have no desire nor intent to migrate to North or West, but who rather believe that here in our birthland there can be a living area free from condescension, insecurity, and racial fogginess in which to seek our mutual destinies. *Charleston, S.C.*

We intend to cooperate to the fullest in seeing that our community and our state develop int that area of liberal usefulness where our state will not be generally second from the bottom in all progressive statistics. *Thursday*

We who permit ourselves to be tied to the prejudices of the past will never be free in spirit nor in aspirations. Therefore if the full stature of our God-given endowments as individuals, as a community are to be attained—we will have to cut loose from the prejudices of this past. White and negro South Carolinians who honestly desire greater economic opportunities, improved educational facilities, and civic and political progressiveness in our community and state are even now cutting loose from these prejudices of this past.

We who are interested in the full participation of all qualified citizens in all activities of a normal community do not seek this participation just for the simple association with this or that racial group, but rather we seek and want this participation, for it is a normal and natural responsibility, opportunity of all free men.

We want the best in educational, recreational, health, job opportunities not just for their superficial benefits, but rather because these opportunities give vent to the full development of all of our God-placed innate abilities and talents. We want participation in things politic and civic not to wallow in the scum, nor with the scalawags; not to be bought, nor to be sold, but rather to be able to plan and vote for the best in community growth. We want to be no burden, the recipients of no sinecure from any man, or any group of men—we want to share all of the responsibilities that go with all opportunities. We want to work for the good in community life. And we want to fight and defeat the bad in community life. *7-18-46*

To the selfsame God to which white South Carolina kneels and bows, negro South Carolina pays obeisance. Our applications and prayers wend their way to the selfsame Throne. It would be more rational, more logical, more in accord with natural law to expect answers to our total supplications and prayers were they uttered with less racial prejudices, more racial cooperation.

A. J. CLEMENT, JR.
32 Bogard street.

Non-White S.C. Citizens Advised to "Get Out"

The Afro-American, Baltimore, Md. Sat 6-29-46

CHARLESTON, S.C. (ANP)—The Charleston News and Courier, desperate because of the losing battle it has helped to wage against colored citizens agitating for their Constitutional rights in the State, last week told those dissatisfied with their "lowly, despicable position and treatment . . . to get out of South Carolina.

Deal Fairly with Negroes

The News and Courier

White people of South Carolina are determined that separation of the races shall continue in the state, in Charleston, in all communities of the state. The negroes, The News and Courier is convinced, with few exceptions, are more than willing to live separately from white people though they would have separation conditioned upon fair, equal, just treatment. The News and Courier plainly says—again—to its white readers that to perpetuate race separation the sure, safe and only wise course is to give to the colored people right treatment. Last Tuesday The News and Courier printed a letter from Robert F. Morrison, a leader of Charleston's colored people, a reasonable and intelligent citizen, which, we hope, has had attention. Further it is to be said that it is to the material interest of the white people of Charleston that negroes have recreational facilities. If negro youth shall have only the streets in which to play, white people should not be surprised that some of them grow up to be vicious youths and men. Vicious negroes are a

menace to the white people as well as to taxpayers. This is the most effective way
their own race. The News and Courier ad- by which to promote racial separation.
vises and urges that measures be adopted to
assist the negroes in improving themselves
their race, though it cost money to white

Charleston, S.C. Wed. 6-1-47

The Negro's Burden

(From Lighthouse and Informer)

A sustained attempt by The Charleston News and Courier to convince South Carolina white people that they are toting Negroes around on their backs, thusly increasing their burdens, inspires us to observe white people whom Negroes have had to tote about on their backs.

For the greater portion of 70 years, Negroes have carried on their backs white men seeking office in South Carolina. Aware of this situation, Mr. Secretary of State James F. Byrnes, then U. S. Senator from South Carolina, declared at Charleston ten years ago, in effect: "For 25 years we have had but two political issues: the Negro and liquor." The late "Cotton" Ed Smith rode into, and sat in, the U. S. Senate for 35 years on the backs of Negroes; and in the state today the practice is to give highest consideration and loudest applause to white men who, stripped of a Negro's back on which to ride, would be hopeless mental cripples. *Thurs. 7-4-46*

Negroes pay their proportions of the taxes, direct and indirect. Yet, while their monies go into the public treasury and they are 44 per cent of the total population, the state spends less than six per cent to operate colleges for them; less than 13 per cent (1942) for all their education; not one penny for their graduate training; less than one per cent for school bus transportation; the state (the white people) diverting the funds to white people. Yet the white people demand, expect and require Negroes to hold their own with all other races. *Atlanta, Georgia*

In Charleston, in 1940, some $400,000 of the people's money was spent on a county auditorium. Negroes are helping to pay the bill but they cannot use the auditorium. The county was shrewd enough to conceal the fact it wanted this hall for whites when bargaining for $350,000 from the federal government.

In Washington sit two senators and six congressmen. These men sit to represent, and on the basis that they represent, the nearly two million people in South Carolina. But hear them campaign! Hear them tell what they have done for "the white people"! Were the Negroes' back pulled away one-half of them would be kicked out of Washington and the state would lose about one-half of its congressional seats.. *Thurs. 7-4-46.*

On the question of who's riding whose back, however, we do nothing short of kill time. Truth is both races have ridden each other's back at various times and, perhaps in opposition to progress. The question now should be one for having every man and woman stand on his or her feet.

AMERICA REVISITED

The Defender

Bloodless Charleston Revolt

Chicago, Ill.

By ENOC P. WATERS JR.

CHARLESTON, S. C.—There's a revolution a-foot here. It is a revolution of Negroes against individuals and institutions in this historic community that for years have fenced in and pushed down the black man.

It is a bloodless revolution depending upon such effective weapons as the ballot, freedom of speech, the right to demonstrate and protest and the privilege of citizens to voice grievances and demand accountings of public officials. Sat. 6-15-46

No effective technique has yet been discovered by die-hard white supremacists to stifle the uprising of 1946. Many whites who are just discovering that the Negro is insuppresible are today advocating the same sort of exodus their forebears quashed decades ago.

Decide To Stay

But present day Negroes have decided to stay here and make of Charleston the land their grandparents sought elsewhere. It is a good resolve because Negroes have helped over the centuries to make Charleston what it is today.

The biggest single factor accounting for the revolution is the war that made more noticeable than ever before the imperfections of the social pattern here and provided the Negro with the incentive to change things about.

Except for a successful fight in the early twenties to get Negro teachers in the Jim Crow schools, the Negro as a group from the turn of the century until the war did very little here in the matter of fighting for fuller participation in local government and to secure a more equitable share of public facilities.

However, during this interim of apathy, individual Negroes made great strides economically. The 70-year-old Ocean Fish company operated by Edward Simmons and his sons that does a reputed $100,000 gross business per year is a notable example.

There are sound sociological reasons for this apathy. Charleston, unlike most cities, has no New York Harlem or Chicago South Side. It doesn't even have a Beal, a Rampart or a West Broad st. I know of no other city, north or south, with a large Negro population where Negroes are so integrated residentially.

This absence of a ghetto has made the organization of the Negro masses extremely difficult. There is no Negro paper here that might have bound the people together and made them aware that their interests are identical.

Caste System

Another factor is that until recently there was a marked caste system here. There was the aristocracy that, like its white counterpart, held itself aloop and became concerned with civic affairs and other community problems only when it was personally involved.

That was the second step in the revolution.

They organized the Veterans Civic Organization with brown-skinned Albert N. Brooks, scion of a business family, as president and with other officers coming from all types of families.

They limited their membership strictly to veterans of World War II because "if the veterans of the last war have been asleep all this time they're not going to wake up now."

The VCO has pledged itself to cooperate with any organization or individual white or colored "that will fight our kind of fight to get what we think Negroes should have."

Publish Paper

They publish monthly, 18 page mimeographed paper, "the VCO News." Last week they offered the local NAACP $200 to do something about the case of a Charleston soldier sentenced to death for murder in Germany.

They joined with the CIO's Political Action Committee and John Green's "Cosmopolitan Civic League" in conducting a successful registration campaign. One veteran, Henry Pitts, personally escorted 50 persons to the registration office.

They have set up branch organizations in Liberty Hill, where 150 men joined in one night; Kingstree, Lake City, Summerville, Columbia and Mt. Pleasant.

They are local sponsors of Anti-Jim Crow Sunday, a demonstration designed to dramatize the Negro's opposition to segregation. The brain child of a white veteran, Paul Newman, of Columbia, S. C., and publicized by John H. McCray, editor of the Lighthouse and Informer, a Negro weekly in Columbia, it designates the first Sunday of every month as the day when Negroes will use no Jim Crow facilities.

In Charleston it is a whopping success. Negro cab drivers, who ordinarily charge 50 cents, ride Negro passengers for 15 cents on that day to keep them off the buses.

The VCO believes in making blunt frontal attacks. They lash out at Uncle Tom's and white supremacists alike. They sidestep no issue.

One thing made all the Negroes in Charleston—the rich and the poor, the aristocratic and the lowly, the high yellows and the blacks—feel a relationship to each other: the drafting into service of their husbands, fathers, brothers and sweethearts. The petty and artificial distinctions they had set up in their community were ignored by Uncle Sam. He classed them all as Negroes and Jim Crowed the lot of them.

That was the beginning of the devolution that is sweeping Chorleston today. Some one with a great deal of sense staffed the USO with persons from outside the community who were not identified with any one of the numerous cliques, strata or castes.

And while the USO was leavening the women, the booming war industries on the northern edge of town were bringing the men together. Employment in the shipyards jumped from 3,100 to 29,000. The federal payroll jumped from 4,500 to 12,000. Most of the Negro workers the Charlestonians met on the job came from other communities. As a result local people were able to overcome the isolation created by living in a peninsular city and began to feel a sympathy for Negroes elsewhere in the South.

After V-J day, last year, the boys began to return home.

Saw Charleston Evils

They had lived in New York, Los Angeles, Paris, London, Sydney, Shanghai and elsewhere around the globe. They saw more clearly than even their parents what was wrong with Charleston. They set out to do something about it.

White Minister Ousted In Blast On Jim Crow

The Atlanta Daily World 1-22-46 Atlanta Ga.

BROWNSVILLE, Tenn. — (ANP) —A white Methodist preacher who told his congregation about the evils of Dixie racism has been fired. The name of the daring minister is reported to be Rev. Thomas.

Eloquently pointing out the injustices to Negroes, the white cleric dared to say:

"We call ourselves Christians, but our comfortable homes, our fine cars, yes, even our sons and daughters education are financed very largely by Negro labor, whom we daily cheat by paying him a wage that barely enables him to eke out a physical existence.

"Can't we understand that the righteous hand of a just retribution is sure to fall heavily upon us because of this wicked and vicious policy?" he asked. 1-22-46

The dynamic pastor's "strange gospel' was overheard by a citizen here enroute to church. Stunned by the courage of the progressive minister to preach the truth, he stopped to listen to the remainder of the sermon, which lasted 40 minutes. He missed regular servicts at his own church. 1-22-46

The bishop arrived in town the same week and the daring minister was transferred to an unknown assignment.

Ban Film For Tipping Hat

Amsterdam News New York

MEMPHIS—(ANP)—Clipping a couple of scenes featuring Rochester, from "The Sailor Takes A Wife," last week, city film censor Lloyd T. Binford continued his unique censorship methods based solely on color prejudice. The scenes snipped out this time were one in which Robert Walker tips his hat to Rochester and one in which Rochester, unaware of Walker's marriage to June Allyson, protests his entering her room.

"No white man can tip his hat to a Negro," Binford avers, "and no Negro can protest a white man's morals" in or out of films. 2-16-46

Binford, who has been elected chairman of the city film censor group for another year despite protests from the Commercial Appeal and Variety, has eliminated film scenes in which Lena Horne appears for the past two years. These scenes have been shown only at military posts where the Binford group exercises no authority.

Despite his rigid scrutiny of films for darker faces, Binford passed for Memphis exhibition the two highly controversial films, "The Outlaw," and "Scarlet Street." The latter was barred in New York State.

AMERICA REVISITED

Columbia Battle For Freedom

By ENOC P. WATERS

Defender Saturday 6-8-46

COLUMBIA, Tenn.—This little central Tennessee town of 12,000 to 15,000 persons gives the casual visitor the impression of being no different from any of the hundreds of other little rural county seats in the South.

As all other little southern towns, Columbia, too, has its colored sections and its Negro business district.

But aside from its physical characteristics, Columbia is not a typical southern town, nor a typical American community.

That was illustrated last February when Negroes in preventing a lynching provoked frustrated whites into one of the most disgraceful pogroms America has known.

Envious, ignorant and corrupt state highway policemen searched, robbed and destroyed Negro owned homes and shops, jailed, beat and terrorized Negro men, women and children while the state militia and local police maintained a state of martial law.

Negroes Lose Rights

From February 25 to March 3 the constitutional rights of no Negro in Columbia were respected and the law and authority of government became the instruments of vengeful whites.

The shameful story of the ugly, sadistic reign of terror in Columbia is widely, though not fully known. But the story of Columbia itself has been ignored.

There is, perhaps, no single block of buildings in America of greater interest to the Negroes of the United States than the one extending from South Main to Woodlawn on East Eighth st., here. It is a block of small businesses almost completely Negro owned.

Broad, and concrete-paxed East Eighth is the Negro promenade. The block is significant. To the stupid, white vandals who made shambles of it beginning at dawn February 26, it symbolized all the irritating qualities of Columbia Negroes.

The highway patrol, symbol of the whites of the area, were not bent upon the sheer destruction of property, nor the abuse of black men.

Spirit of People

They were battling the intangible spirit of the Negro in Columbia. Theirs was a demonstration of fear, frustration and envy.

Almost all evidence of the vandalism is gone. Negro business and professional men have digested their loss of money and valuable equipment. Business is going on as usual, and looking forward to better days.

Negroes here are better off economically than Negroes in the average southern town of this size. They are better educated. They are more active politically. They have a greater sense of unity and a deeper racial pride. They are outspoken, militant and independent. They do not intend to leave Columbia. 6-8-46

In 1940 Columbia had a population of about 12,000 persons of whom 3,300 were Negroes. It is estimated that the present population is 15,000, with almost 5,000 Negroes.

Heirs of Founders

The heirs of the founders—the Johnsons, Websters, Kellys, and Sandersons—are still living in Columbia. One of the first public schools for Negroes was opened here in 1868 by J. H. Kelly, after Thomas J. White was run out of town by the Ku Klux Klan for starting a school. But White is living in Columbia today.

The solidarity and militancy of the Negroes here are not recent phenomena. The spirit dates back to another day of violence when the Ku Klux Klan was organized in Pulaski, only 12 miles away, with the expressed purpose of keeping the recently liberated Negro in his place.

Through the long and sordid history of the town and county, marked by three lynchings, and denials of justice in the courts, the Negro has found solidarity and militancy necessary for his survival.

The same social forces that drove the Negro together here, have also inspired his independence. Today there are 63 Negro owned businesses in the town, at least a third of which are grocery stores. These businesses, have, in turn served to keep Negro money within the group and so the economic level of the people has been raised.

Area Industrialized

But another factor contributing to the sound financial status of the Negro here is industrialization and unionization. Columbia is the trading center for an agricultural area that specializes in the raising of livestock, the production of tobacco, and dairying. It is the mule capital of the world.

The area is also distinguished by large deposits of phosphate, and the mines and plants where it is processed give employment to thousands, many of whom are Negroes. 6-8-46

The industry is fairly well organized by the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union, CIO, which has been able to wipe out the pay differential, but has yet to succeed in its efforts to have Negroes upgraded.

However, equalization of pay has increased Negro income.

Good income has enabled Negroes to further reduce their contacts with local whites. The average Negro woman will bypass local stores and go to Nashville 43 miles northwest to do her shopping.

They have liberated themselves from the white landlord. More than 70 per cent of the Negroes here own their own homes, and the majority of the tenants rent from members of their own race.

Negroes In Isolation

The tendency of Negroes here to draw off to themselves has annoyed whites who have no way of knowing what they are thinking.

The prosperity of Negroes here has been reflected in the educational level of the community. Prof. Horace D. Porter pointed out that 20 to 30 percent of high school graduates attend college. Eight of the 17 members of the present graduating class have already enrolled for college training.

The return of the young people from college has tended to keep the community awake. The more than 500 registered Negro votes here have established themselves as a balance of power, though in the November primaries, the slate they backed lost. 6-8-46

All these evidences of Negro progress that, ironically, were inspired by the unfriendly attitude of the white man, has served to further inflame him.

49 1946 Tennessee (Series on The Negro in Nashville)

The Negro In Nashville

An Asset or a Liability?

THE BANNER employed Dr. Roy L. Garis, now professor of economics at the University of Southern California, to make a study of the Negro in Nashville and Davidson County. At present on leave of absence from Vanderbilt University, Dr. Garis made an extensive survey here during recent months. Widely known as an authority on economic matters, he is author of the quota provisions of the U. S. Immigration Act of 1924 and was director of research for Mexican immigration for the U. S. House of Representatives Committee 29. During 1936-37 he was director of research for the State Planning Commission and was assistant to the State Commissioner of Institutions and Public Welfare for nearly two years. Dr. Garis has written for the Saturday Evening Post, is on the editorial staff of "Social Science" and serves on various national committees concerned with economic and political science affairs. Herewith is the first article of his series on the Negro in Nashville.

By DR. ROY L. GARIS

Most recent estimates of the combined Nashville-Davidson County population indicate that 22.1 per cent of the inhabitants are Negroes, and the 1940 Census showed a 10-year increase in the percentage of Negro population for the first time since 1900.

The estimated population of Davidson County, including Nashville, as of November, 1944, was 276.101—of whom 61,018 were Negroes. At the same time, population of the City of Nashville alone was estimated at 178,085—of whom 50,398 were Negroes. This left an estimated county population outside the city of 98,016, including 10,620 Negoes.

Thus, about 28.3 per cent of Nashville's population was reported to be of the colored race, as compared with 10.8 per cent in the county outside the city limits.

An estimate of the Davidson County Health Department put the Negro population outside the corporate area a few degrees higher. The department's 1944 population estimates showed 96,626 inhabitants of the non-Nashville county districts. Of this number, the Health Department estimated that 12,561 or 13 per cent were Negroes.

The last Census in 1940 showed that during the decade from 1930 to 1940 the white population showed a decrease from 72.2 per cent of the total to 71.7 per cent, while the Negro population rose from 27.8 per cent to 28.3 per cent.

Taxes Paid

Although the Negro makes up considerably more than one-fifth the population of Nashville and Davidson County and substantially more than one-fourth the population of Nashville proper, he pays approximately only 8.5 per cent to 9.2 per cent of the direct and indirect taxes, according to the best possible estimates.

If all taxes—federal, state and local—are taken into consideration, it would seem doubtful if the Negro pays in excess of a total of 5 per cent of the taxes.

The total of all state, county and city taxes paid in Nashville and Davidson County in 1944 amounted to $7,039,637.44, divided almost equally between those paid the state and county and those collected by the City of Nashville. State-county collections amounted to $3,409,511.44 and those of the City of Nashville totaled $3,630,126.

Assuming that only a negligible number of Negroes pay other than property taxes to the city and county, a liberal estimate of taxes paid by Negroes—both directly and indirectly—amounts to $650,000. However, a conservative estimate of $600,000 or less probably would be more nearly correct.

This analysis of taxes includes estimates of those paid BOTH DIRECTLY AND INDIRECTLY. On the basis of DIRECT taxes paid, 99,353 per cent of city taxes are paid by white people and only .647 per cent (less than seven-tenths of one per cent) are paid by Negroes. At this rate, Negroes in Nashville pay in direct taxes annually to the city only $24,640. (The county is not covered by this figure.)

City assessment records have been estimated by one agency of the city government to contain ad valorem, personal property and realty assessments against white people totaling $171,880,000 as against $1,120,000 against Negroes.

Although city and county officials do not keep separate records of taxes paid by Negroes and whites, the methods used in computing the estimates above seem to be reasonably valid and sound.

Fair School Share

With 28.3 of Nashville's estimated population composed of Negroes, a survey shows that 28.7 per cent of the total expenditures in Nashville public schools during the scholastic year 1944-45 went for Negro public school education.

With 18,641 white students and 7,527 Negro students reported enrolled during that year, receipts for schools amounted to $2,371,273.99, which breaks down to $90.61 for each student enrolled. On this basis, education of Negro students got $682,021.47 and that of white students received $1,689,252.52 in the city. Thus, for education alone, Negroes get almost 28 times as much as they pay in direct city taxes.

Not only does not discrimination exist within the city school system in expenditures for Negro and white students, but it is interesting to note that the same salaries are paid to white and Negro teachers.

In fact, in certain instances, Negro teachers are paid HIGHER salaries. Thus, the median monthly salary for 34 white principals is $282, whereas it is $285 for 12 Negro principals. The median monthly salary for 147 white junior high school teachers is $200.34; for 49 Negro teachers it is $201.25.

For 115 Negro elementary teachers, the median is $195, compared with $200.83 for 282 white teachers. For 32 Negro high school teachers, the median is $202.94, compared with $204.55 for white teachers in high schools.

(The board of education sets salaries of personnel within minimum and maximum brackets specified in a compensation plan enacted by the City Council. The compensation plan makes no distinction between races.)

Free textbooks and funds for library facilities are furnished on the same basis to white and Negro children.

The annual grant for libraries per pupil is 75 cents for senior high schools, 25 cents for junior high schools and 10 cents for elementary schools.

Among other things, all but one of the 12 Negro city schools have electric refrigeration, whereas four of the 35 white schools still use old-style iceboxes. In another category, there are three white and two Negro visiting teachers in the city school system. Officials say the effectiveness of the two groups is relatively the same."

School Buildings

School buildings and equipment for white and Negro children compare quite favorably. Of eight new buildings constructed in 1939, five were for white pupils and three were for Negroes—and the same type of construction and equipment was provided. The eight buildings cost a total of $3,000,000.

In the calendar year 1945, a furnished to Negro school children at a cost of 12 cents a meal to the Community Chest, in comparison with a total of 50,512 free meals to white children.

Turning to Davidson County's school system, the county in 1945 had 48 white elementary schools and 31 for Negroes, with 10 four-year high schools for white and one for Negroes. An enrollment of 15,209 white children compared with a total of 1,305 Negro children.

As far as Davidson County outside Nashville is concerned, it is recalled that only 10.8 per cent of the population of the county (non-Nashville) is Negro. But the expenses are equitable. The annual cost for transportation of each county student—white and colored—is $13.98, in addition to other operating expenses.

As to financial provisions for education of the two races, another factor exists. The State of Tennessee allows both the county and city $10 annually for every pupil in average daily attendance. Last year, the average daily attendance in the city was 15,043 white children and 6,478 Negroes; in the county it was 15,071 whites and 1,294 Negroes.

Thus, the county and city received $150,430 and $64,780 respectively to help with the education of all students.

Moreover, the state supplements the salary of each teacher to the extent of $200 a year, regardless of sex or race. This supplementary compensation last year went to 893 elementary teachers and 550 high school teachers in both city and county—and 280 of them were Negro teachers.

The Negro In Nashville

This is the second of a series of articles in which Dr. Roy L. Garis, professor of economics at the University of Southern California, discusses the Negro in relation to the Nashville and Davidson County community. The writer, nationally known authority on economics and the social sciences, today studies the contributions of the colored race to social service agencies in comparison with the benefits received

By

During the 10 years of 1936 through 1945, Nashvillians and Davidson Countians raised $3,402,558 for the Community Chest.

Of this amount, $29,960.63 was raised by Negro divisions working in the annual campaigns as the direct contribution paid into the chest by the colored population. To be added to this total are contributions by Negroes through their white employing firms and also their contributions during two of these years when there were no separate Negro divisions.

During 1943, 1944 and 1945, Community-War Chest quotas for Negroes amounted to a total of $12,380 and they raised $15,864. Their 1943 quota was $1,930, the 1944 quota was $5,000 and the 1945 quota was $5,900—all very conservative in view of the large amounts spent on behalf of various Negro organizations and in view of the improved financial conditions of the Negro population.

Six agencies of the Community Chest serve Negroes only, and they received a total of $162,541 during the past five years. Their 1946 allotments total $44,256. These agencies include the Eaton Day Home, Hubbard Hospital, Fisk Social Center, Negro youth work, South Street Community Center and the Colored YWCA.

A total of 16 other Chest agencies render service to both whites and Negroes, with $199,598 earmarked for them for 1946 alone. It can be conservatively stated that fully one-third of this amount is being spent on behalf of Negroes—and in certain instances fully 50 per cent of the allotments to some agencies is being spent on behalf of Negroes.

As illustrations, $7,500 is being contributed for free meals for children in city and county public schools, $1,000 to the Tennessee Association for the Relief of Ex-Convicts, $26,333 for Travelers' Aid, $32,710 for child care, $25,967 for public health agencies and $54,975 for youth agencies.

In this connection, it is noted that the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts have extensive activities for Negro members, and per capita expenditures on their behalf compare favorably with those for white youngsters.

In the case of Negro Girl Scouts, the per capita expenditure in their behalf is a little higher than that for white Scouts. Moreover, the Girl Scouts expect to have 41 Negro troops this year, as compared with 85 white troops.

Out of a total of 138 Boy Scout troops, 29 are for Negro youths—a very favorable percentage.

Red Cross Work

Davidson County Chapter budgets for the Red Cross for the past five years including 1946 have amounted to a total of $686,151.57. The chapter budget is the budget of funds to be expended locally, the remainder of Red Cross quota collections being sent to the National Red Cross.

Of this $686,151.57, about 70 per cent goes for the Home Service Department and affiliated services. Of this 70 per cent, approximately 50 per cent is expended for the Negro and, in fact, 60 per cent is a modest estimate of the total number of Red Cross cases involving Negroes.

Red Cross contributions in Negro quota drives during the same five years totaled $14,843.63.

The year 1945 is an example. Davidson County's total Red Cross budget for that year was $508,390, of which $180,212.23 was retained for expenditure in the county and the remainder was sent to national headquarters. To help secure this fund, Negroes were assigned a quota of $5,000. They raised $3,894.35.

In 1944, Negro Red Cross solicitors topped a $5,000 quota by $1,099.07, with one person giving a large percentage of the total, while in 1943, $4,609.98 was raised on a quota of $3,000. In 1942, $240.23 was produced by Negro groups without any quota.

All services of the Red Cross which are extended to white persons are extended to Negroes and, in view of their improved incomes in the past five years, there is reason to believe that the finanical cooperation on the part of Negroes could have been greater.

There is no segregation in the Home Service Department between whites and Negroes—and there are no separate files for whites and Negroes, the files being integrated.

Hence we find (1) no discrimination, (2) the Negro receives a large percentage of the funds and (3) his contributions have been only nominal.

The Negro In Nashville

This is the third of a series of articles by Dr. Roy L. Garis, widely known economist, on the Negro and his relation to this community. In previous articles Dr. Garis has outlined the broad services rendered to the colored race by the local government and social service agencies as compared with their contributions in taxes or charitable donations.

Davidson County's tuberculosis death rate per 100,000 of the white population in 1945 was 45.4, while the rate per 100,000 Negroes was 155.7.

That is why public health officials are of the opinion that tuberculosis is the first health problem in Davidson County, with venereal diseases second.

Consider this statement by the Tennessee Department of Public Health:

"The course of the disease (tuberculosis) is more rapid in colored than in white persons and the duration of the disease is usually relatively short in colored persons. Although at a given time approximately the same number of cases are found in the two racial groups, over a period of time many more serious cases of TB and deaths from the disease occur in the colored population than in the white."

Lack of adequate and proper medical care and services are fundamental factors to be considered in viewing this condition. It is necessary to have an ade-

quate system of case-finding in order to discover cases in the minimal stage soon after onset.

The existing TB agencies do not locate tuberculosis cases among Negroes in the early stages of the disease. The victim is usually dead or nearly dead when his case becomes known.

In Davidson County Tuberculosis Hospital, there are 252 beds for white TB patients and 48 beds for Negro TB patients. In the State TB Hospital (on the old Masonic grounds), there are beds for 50 white patients and none for Negroes. Operated under the State Health Department, the State Hospital is not free but is on a matched fund basis.

The Davidson County Anti-Tuberculosis Association keeps several patients in the county hospital, paying $5 per week per bed for their care. This association which derives its funds from sales of Christmas Seals, also pays to assist patients in Vanderbilt Hospital and contributes a matching fund of $1.25 per day for patients in the State TB Hospital.

High Death Rates

According to data of the TB Association, Nashville had 119 tuberculosis deaths during 1944, with a rate of 68.7 cases of TB per 100,000 population. Sixty who died were white people and 59 were Negroes—and it is recalled that Negroes make up only 28.3 per cent of the city's population.

Thus the TB death rate in the City of Nashville in 1944 was 48.4 per 100,000 for whites and 119.9 per 100,000 for Negroes. The rate in the county and city combined was similar, averaging 48.8 per 100,000 whites and 117 per 100,000 Negroes. The total Nashville-Davidson County population is 22.1 per cent Negroes.

Death rates from TB among colored persons are extremely high among those 15 to 35 years of age—and then the rates decrease with age. On the other hand, the death rates for white persons due to TB increase more rapidly with age, being extremely high for those 65 years old and over.

Essentials for Control

Here are three important measures which are essential in a TB control program:

1. Discovery of TB in the early stage, mainly through X-ray examination.

2. Hospitalization for proper treatment. A thousand free beds for TB patients are recommended.

3. Isolation to prevent spread of the disease.

In the failure to have an adequate program of this type, we should and will find the answer to the TB problem. Especially is this true for the Negro.

Much more needs to be done —especially for the Negro TB victim. This will necessitate the expenditure of much larger sums than in the past. The community saves nothing through neglect of TB cases, especially among the highly susceptible Negro race.

It is a problem that cannot be walled off nor dismissed by an ostrich-like approach. Under existing conditions, the Negro relatively speaking, is a liability in so far as TB s concerned It is going to cost a great deal of money to solve this serious problem.

Work Is Outlined

The County Anti-TB Association during 1945 sent $25 to the Bethlehem Center, furnished $300 to Meharry Medical College for Xray equipment, provided several hundred dollars worth of X-ray films for use with indigent patients at Meharry, financed training for nurses, conducted educational work in schools, sought to rehabilitate TB victims with arrested cases and their families and provided a course of lectures to student nurses at Hubbard Hospital.

Educational work is carried on in Negro schools the same as in white schools, including literature, an essay contest and motion pictures.

The 1946 budget of the TB Association includes $50 for a Negro camp, $500 for special Negro work and $2,000 for X-ray material, the last being for whites and Negroes.

Relying entirely upon receipts for Christmas Seals, the association raised $29,729 last year.

The Negro In Nashville

This is the fourth of a series of articles by Dr. Roy L. Garis, professor of economics at the University of Southern California, on the Negro in the Nashville community. He previously has discussed taxes paid by Negroes in proportion to their population, educational facilities, Community Chest and Red Cross activities, and tuberculosis problems.

By DR. ROY L. GARIS

Infant and maternal death rates for Nashville Negroes are much higher than those among the white population, and so is the syphilis rate, according to Health Department records.

The average infant death rate among Negroes during the 10 years, 1936 through 1945, was 78.7 per 1,000 live births. The white infant death average was 46.9 per 1,000 live births.

Among Negroes, the average infant death rate per 1,000 live births was 59.4 and the Negro rate was 90. In 1937, the white rate dropped to 45.3 and the Negro rate fell to 77. But in 1938, the white rate rose to 49.2 and the Negro rate swerved upward to 93.4.

Negro infant deaths reached a high of 99.5 per 1,000 in 1941 while the white rate stood just above the 50 mark. All rates have dropped since that time, particularly the Negro rate, which fell last year to a low mark of 65.5 per 1,000 births.

Deaths of Negro mothers in maternity cases reached extreme heights in 1937, 1938 and 1939—averaging 11.6 per 1,000 during those years — but they have ranged from one to five per 1,000 since that time.

Nursing Services

The Health Department's public health nursing division during 1945 had 14,569 cases under care, of which 8,318 involved white patients and 6,251 were Negroes.

These figures included 647 white maternity cases and 600 Negro maternity cases. Health supervision for children one to six years of age included 3,433 white and 2,681 Negro cases.

In all these instances, it again is recalled that Negroes make up 28.3 per cent of Nashville's population, pay an estimated 5 per cent of direct and indirect taxes of all descriptions and contribute small amounts to charity campaigns.

To supplement the budget of the City Health Department for nursing services last year, the Community Chest granted $17,880 in additional funds. Over a three-year period Negroes contributed a total of $15,964 to the Chest.

Statistics on conferences and clinics of the Health Department and on distribution of milk furnished for indigents by the Community Chest show the Negro to be getting a share proportionate with his population and his need. Obviously, a large percentage of the case load and work of the department is due to health problems of the Negro.

Many County Reports

Data for Davidson County (not including Nashville) are available on virtually every health problem in detailed statistic form. Thus, it is astounding to note that in 1945 a total of 63,387 examinations were made in the control of syphilis and gonorrhea in this health area.

However none of this data is broken down as to whites and Negroes, making it impossible to evaluate the work and problems involved on a racial basis.

The report of the County Health Director for 1945 contains data on the seven Nashville-Davidson County hospitals approved by the American Hospital Association.

In these hospitals, an average total of 2,700 persons received hospital care monthly—593 of them on a part-pay basis and 652 on a free basis. Of the free patients, 488 monthly were in Nashville General Hospital and 85 were in Vanderbilt University Hospital, both of which serve Negroes, while 46 free patients were served monthly at Hubbard Hospital, which is for Negroes only.

Turning specifically to the case of General Hospital, it is pointed out that it had a budget appropriation for the 1943-44 fiscal year of $350,000, and revealing figures are available for that period.

Normally, 90 per cent of the cases at General are charity and at present an estimate of at least 65 per cent of the cases are Negroes. During the year from August 1, 1943, to July 31, 1944, 6,797 patients were admitted, of whom 4,254 were white and 2,543 were Negro, making the percentage of Negroes for that period 37.4 per cent. Of this 6,797, a total of 5,374 were charity patients.

Out of a total of 72,789 "hospital days" recorded, 63,855 were charity and 8,934 were private cases. In the "out-patient" department, white patients that year totaled 15,131 and Negro patients numbered 10,551, including new and old cases. Visits by white "out-patients" total 28,160 compared with 22,035 visits by Negro "out-patients" during this period.

If we accept the Vanderbilt Hospital cost of $1 for each out-patient visit, we have a cost of $55,285 for out-patients, $22,035 of which was for Negroes during that fiscal year.

On this basis, charity patients during that particular year cost the hospital $255,420, and it may be estimated that the cost for Negro charity patients that year was $95,927.08. If—as has been stated—65 per cent or more of the patients now are Negroes, then the cost for their hospitalization per year now is $166,023.

Adding the estimated cost of death rate of mothers in childbirth was 5.71 per 1,000 live births during the same 10-year period. **The maternal death rate for white people averaged 2.25 per 1,000 live births.**

As to syphilis, the Health Department handled 3,528 cases of Negroes during 1945 as compared to 798 white victims, the official records indicate.

The difference as to gonorrhea is not so wide between the races, however. Total gonorrhea cases last year were 1,047 Negroes and 950 whites.

The infant death rates have fluctuated considerably year by year during the 10-year period. In 1936, for instance, the white $22,035 for Negro out-patients, the total expenditures of General Hospital in behalf of Negroes amounted to $117,982.08 in the 1943-44 fiscal year—out of a total budget of $350,000. It now probably is mounting to some $183,000.

No patient ever is turned away from this hospital, even if beds are placed in halls and all other space

Nashville General Hospital is obviously operating on only a fraction of the money it really needs. Since this problem is being discussed frequently in the press, there is little need to discuss it here beyond endorsing the great need that exists.

The Negro In Nashville

This is the fifth of a series of articles by Dr. Roy L. Garis, professor of economics at the University of Southern California, on the Negro in Nashville and Davidson County. Today he takes up the subjects of higher education, churches, recreational facilities and employment. Dr. Garis is on leave of absence from Vanderbilt University.

By DR. ROY L. GARIS

Three Nashville institutions of higher learning make college educations available to Negroes on an economical basis—and their location here is further evidence of the desire of the people to do everything possible to promote the welfare of its Negro citizens.

It can be said truthfully that these three institutions do their part to help make Nashville "the Athens of the South."

Within their halls, Negro students can equip themselves to render constructive service to their race in the years to come. Out of these institutions should come to a considerable extent the leadership which the Negroes of Nahsville and the South need so much in the solution of their many problems.

Higher education for Negroes in this area is no longer a myth or an idle dream. Even a brief survey of the work of these three institutions will convince the most stubborn cynic that the citizens of Nashville and Tennessee are vitally aware of the need of higher education for Negroes.

As of February, 1946, the enrollment in Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State College was 1,385. In Fisk University, it was 765—made up of 220 men and 545 women. Although not large in size relatively, Meharry Medical College and Hubbard Hospital, which adjoin the campus of Fisk University, are well equipped to serve the Negro population in many valuable ways.

A&I State College is a land grant college, and as such is supported primarily by state funds, with some federal funds to cover the land grant program. Consisting of 12 major buildings, of which any college may be proud, the school has a large faculty.

At A&I the cost per quarter to students for board, room and registration is only $90.80. Most of the student's needs can be met for $300 for an academic year.

According to the budget of Tennessee for the biennium 1943-45, A&I State College has received $110,000 annually from the state since 1941. According to reports from the Tennessee Taxpayers Association, the school's total expenditures seem to average about $225,000 annually.

Fisk University, with an endowment of $3,586,187.86, has buildings and a physical plant valued at $1,665,348, maintains a library of 88,000 bound volumes and has a large competent faculty.

It received contributions of $98,000 during the year 1945-46, these contributions coming from foundations, gifts, United Negro College Drive, and other sources. Fisk, of course, is not supported by public funds.

To attend Fisk, a student pays a tuition of $175 per year. Room and board cost the student $309.20 —with a total average cost per student each year of $550 to $600.

Meharry Medical College and accompanying Hubbard Hospital are, of course, noteworthy and excellent institutions. As noted previously, the Community Chest, Davidson County Tuberculosis [illegible] and various other agencies contribute financially to the work being done by Hubbard Hospital in behalf of Negroes.

Churches and Recreation

Nashville Negroes account for 169 of the city's 377 churches, and approximately 22,000 are listed as church members. Baptist Churches are far in the lead, 52 of them having 15,825 members, while 17 Negro Methodist Churches have 3,275 members.

Six of Nashville's 29 parks are for Negroes, and all of them have playgrounds well equipped with modern apparatus, lighted croquet courts, paddle tennis courts and horseshoe lanes. All have softball diamonds and two have regular baseball diamonds. Five of the six parks have small swimming pools, four have free motion picture shows in summer and two have lighted clay tennis court. The parks for Negroes comprise 54.77 acres.

In addition to the recreational facilities available in these six parks for Negroes, six playgrounds for Negroes exist in the city. There are eight gymnasiums and at A&I State College there is a swimming pool available to Negroes in Nashville.

For the year 1945, records show $16,311.32 or 7.8 per cent of the park budget was spent for Negro parks and playgrounds, though the amount going to parks from taxes paid directly to the City of Nashville by Negroes was $1,120.

In the seven years 1939 through 1945, total operating expenditures of all city parks amounted to $1,271,982.23. Of this amount, $75,585.30 or 5.94 per cent was spent on parks for Negroes. In the 22 years from 1924 to 1946, expenditures for park improvements amounted to $632,794.13, of which $25,291.42 (4 per cent) was for Negroes.

The Board of Park Commissioners estimates value of land and buildings in the six Negro parks at $87,699.71.

Other Facilities

Nashville has four motion picture theaters exclusively for Negroes, in addition to those which have balconies for Negro patrons. Three of the four theaters for colored have capacities of 600 each and the fourth a capacity of 904. Throughout the war, two lounges have been operated for Negroes in military uniform.

Nashville, Tenn., Banner
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This is the last of a series of articles by Dr. Roy L. Garis, nationally known economist and sociologist, on the Negro and his place in the Nashville community.

By DR. ROY L. GARIS

During the 15 years from 1930 through 1945, 35.6 per cent of the cases coming before the Nashville Juvenile Court involved young Negroes—and during the six years 1939 to 1945, an average of 34.7 per cent of the juvenile delinquents were Negroes.

These percentages may be viewed with the recollection that Negroes constitute 28.3 per cent of Nashville's population.

It is interesting to note that the trend of expenditures by the Community Chest to juvenile agencies since 1935 has been up. That such expenditures are paying dividends is obvious from the fact that the general trend of delinquency rates has been down since 1938.

Turning to records of the Nashville Police Department, it is noted that 27 per cent of total arrests made in 1945 were Negroes, compared with their population percentage of 28.3 per cent. White people arrested totaled 17,269; Negroes totaled 6,263.

Among 17 types of offenses for which most arrests were made last year, more Negroes than whites were arrested for five types. For various types of assault, 225 Negroes were arrested and 203 whites; for carrying unlawful weapons, 77 Negroes and 73 whites; for disorderly and offensive conduct, 302 Negroes and 298 whites; for gaming, 65 Negroes and 45 whites; for housebreaking, 217 Negroes and 145 whites.

Other statistics show 54 arrests of Negroes for murder contrasted with nine such arrests of white persons. Eighteen per cent of traffic accidents involved Negroes, the number being 444 as against 1,944 traffic accidents involving whites.

Efforts to secure the number of true bills returned by the Grand Jury and other such data were unsuccessful, the Clerk of Criminal Court having reported that he computes no statistics because no funds or personnel for this purpose ever have been made available to him for such purposes.

This lack of statistical data contrasts sharply with the excellent data computed annually by the City Commissioner of Police and Safety, the Judge of the Juvenile Court and others. Thus, it is impossible to note any trends or analyze any problems in this field of interest so vital to the welfare of the community.

It is difficult to understand how a public office of such importance can function without a statistical analysis of its activities.

Housing Analysis

In 1940, the Nashville Housing Authority reported that Nashville had 47,536 dwelling units and that 17,592 of this number were substandard. Of the substandard units, 53.6 per cent were reportedly occupied by Negroes, leaving 8,160 substandard units occupied by white people—far more than the average person thinks is the case.

Negroes paid an average rent of $9.67 and white paid an average of $12.24 at that time.

Of the total of 13,706 housing units occupied by Negroes, 3,275 also were owned by Negroes with an average value of $1,519, and Negroes occupied the other 10,431 as tenants. For comparison, 10,910 dwelling units were occupied by white owners and in 21,188 dwelling units white occupants were tenants.

Taking Davidson County as a whole, there were 69,639 dwelling units in 1940—of which 15,479 were occupied by Negroes.

Note this statement in the NHA survey:

"A general relation obtains between areas of substandard housing and the prevalence of such social conditions as juvenile delinquency, tuberculosis, infant mortality and school attendance problems."

To point this out, it is noted that 80 per cent of the substandard dwellings in Nashville are in 11 "tracts" of the city. Two of these tracts (five and nine) show juvenile delinquency rates far above those for the city as a whole. Tract Nine (commonly known as "Black Bottom") has the highest tuberculosis rate, infant mortality rate and truancy rate of any tract in the city.

In all but two of the 11 tracts, the number of cases handled by the juvenile court ranks above the general rate of Nashville.

All of these tracts except one rank above the city rate for cases of tuberculosis; all rank above the city rate for infant deaths; all except two show a greater rate of cases handled by the public school attendance department than the general rate of the city as a whole.

It has been pointed out that "these areas are contributing more than their share to the problems facing the city's law-enforcing, health and school authorities." Virtually all the Negro population of Nashville dwells in certain of these tracts.

Family Facts

The housing survey showed a larger proportion of Negro families than of white families are headed by women—one-fourth of the Negro families having female heads compared with a little more than one-tenth of the white families.

This is due primarily to the greater instability in Negro families, leaving the burden of the family on the woman. Among Negro families, 13.1 per cent had one or more persons who had been divorced or separated compared with 5.8 per cent of the white families.

The federal subsidy for Nashville housing projects is $50,000 annually—which, it is assumed, is being repaid through better health, less delinquency, less money for police and fire protection and other economies. A study should be made to determine whether this is true.

Public housing units accommodate somewhat more Negroes than white persons, the figures for 1940 having been 2,762 white families and 2,960 Negro families. Construction costs for the Negroes cost more money.

The increase in the average family income of occupants in all four housing projects is quite marked. It can be assumed with reasonable accuracy that a somewhat similar increase in income has taken place in most Negro family units outside the housing projects.

The rise in family incomes was shown in an article preceding this one. Records at the public housing projects disclose that incomes have risen from a low of $746 to $1,511.23 for white people and from $653.76 to $1,076.57 for Negroes during the years 1941 to 1945.

It is difficult to conclude that increases among white families outside the projects have been corresponding for several reasons. Many white persons are on fixed salaries that have not incerased substantially. They pay a far larger percentage of taxes —and in many cases taxes have reduced their net income. White persons, too, have been much more liberal in contributions to the Red Cross, Community Chest and other such agencies.

And, as this study has shown throughout, much more is done relatively for Negroes than for white people by public and private agencies.

Summarizing facts presented previously in this series, the following points are outstanding:

The combined Nashville-Davidson County population is 22.1 per cent Negro; Nashville's population is 28.3 per cent Negro. Comprising more than one-fourth of the city's residents, Negroes pay 5 per cent of all forms of taxation. In direct city taxes, they pay less than seven-tenths of one per cent of the total collected, amounting to around $24,640 a year.

For one of the various public services alone — education — the city spends almost 28 times as much in a year for Negroes as the colored population pays in city taxes, with $682,021.47 having gone for Negro schools in the last recorded year. No discrimination between races is shown, teachers' pay is the same and buildings used by whites and Negroes compare favorably.

From 1936 through 1946, the Community Chest raised $3,402,558—of which $29,960.63 came from Negroes, aside from whatever number contributed through white-owned firms where they were employed. During the "big" Community and War Chest years of 1943, 1944 and 1945, the Chest got $15,864 from Negro sources.

But $162,541 was allotted during that time to six Chest agencies which serve Negroes only, while 16 other agencies which serve both races spent one-third or more of their allotments to assist colored people.

Local Red Cross Chapter budgets in the past five years totaled $686,151.27 to be spent locally—probably about 60 per cent for Negroes. During these years, Red Cross drives among the colored population netted contributions to that agency totaling $14,843.63.

In 1945, the Red Cross had a budget in the county of $508,390, of which $180,212.23 was earmarked for local use. The Negro fund-raising quota was $5,000; the contributions totaled $3,894.35.

Greatest need for the Negro citizen today is in the fight on tuberculosis, even more than on venereal diseases. In 1944, the TB death rate among white people in Davidson County was 48.4 per 100,000 population; the rate among Negroes was 117 per 100,000 population. Much larger sums need to be expended to halt the alarming prevalence of the disease among citizens of both races, especially the more susceptible Negro race.

However, it is noted that public health and hospital services are rendered to colored citizens on a basis often greater than population percentages would indicate, without regard to the Negro's small tax payments. Normally, 90 per cent of the cases at the tax-supported General Hospital are charity, and at least 65 per cent of these serve Negro patients.

In 1943-44, some $118,000 was spent on Negro patients, it is estimated, as compared with less than $25,000 in direct city taxes paid by Negroes.

Parks and playgrounds, higher education and public housing facilities also are on a high level of service.

In all these connections, it should be borne in mind that incomes of Negroes have risen greatly, according to statistics. Between 1941 and 1945, averages in some reports went up 50 per cent.

Much To Be Done

In the opinion of the author, much yet needs to be done to further improve the environmental conditions in Nashville and Davidson County.

If funds were available, Nashville could further improve its school system, improve its health, virtually eliminate tuberculosis, reduce delinquency and police cases, improve housing and recreational facilities, and accomplish many other important things.

However, with the funds it has, Nashville has shown a progressive spirit. Almost without exception, it has shown a sympathy and understanding of the problems faced by its Negro citizens. Its willingness to help them improve their status in life has proved itself in the expenditure of the relatively large sums analyzed in this study.

Almost without exception, more is being done on a relative basis for Negroes than for its poorer white citizens. This willingness has persisted even when there has been little or no cooperation from its Negro citizens to promote their own welfare—even when they have been able to do so.

Nashville has done and is doing more than is necessary to allay any charges of racial discrimination in the promotion of the welfare of its Negro citizens.

The Negro needs leadership, sympathy and understanding. He is climbing a difficult road to a better world. Nashville can well be proud of the many efforts being made to help its Negro citizens. Not only is Nashville assisting liberally with its funds, but it shows an understanding of the problems of its Negroes and a willingness to do whatever is possible to promote their welfare.

It is a record of which Nashville can well be proud.

At the same time, it is a challenge to Nashville citizens—white and Negro—to continue to build a greater community with the passing of time.

"We Have No Color Problem in Texas" Says Sen Daniel

Afro American, Baltimore, Md.

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — Sen. Lee O'Daniel of Texas said in the Senate Friday:

"In the South, especially in Texas, we have no colored problem whatever. There are many colored people living in our State; there are many white people living in our State; there are many citizens of Mexican origin living in our State. We get along fine.

Sat 2-23-46

"There is no discrimination. We keep things separate. We have some segregation laws which are just as satisfactory to the colored people as to the white people. Each race believes in its own race and, as I have said, we get along well."

Confederate Daughter Bars Good Will Rites

Afro American, Baltimore, Md.

AUSTIN, Tex. (ANP).—Ceremonies planned by Northern students of the University of Texas here, at which a symbolic Mason-Dixon line would be erased in a spirit of Northern-Southern good will, were cancelled last week on the sole protest of a member of the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

James A. Koch, New Yorker, president of the Yankee Club, said Mrs. Walter Prescott Webb, the U.D.C.'s legislative committee chairman, declared: "It would hardly be proper to dismember the Mason-Dixon line right in front of the statues of Southern heroes of the Civil War."

2-9-46

924 RACE CLASHES REPORTED IN TEXAS

Pittsburgh, Pa. [?] *Sat 5-4-46* *Courier*

Bulletin!

Mrs. Lulu White, executive secretary of the Houston branch of the NAACP; Laurentz Frantz, Nashville lawyer, and A. L. Marshall, president of the Progressive Democratic League, Macon, Ga., all delegates to the Civil Rights Conference in Detroit over the week-end, testified to the rising tide of specific acts of violence against Negro veterans in the South, from Texas to Florida. There were at least a dozen instances of killings described by them, which apparently have not been published in the press.

AUSTIN, Tex. — The eyes of the Nation this week were focused on the Lone Star State, where efforts are being made to curb alarming and increasing post-war racial disturbances.

Col. Homer Garrison Jr., director of the State Department of Public Safety, told The Pittsburgh Courier that forty-six Texas cities, representing a population of 1,873,000, reported 924 racial clashes in 1945, whereas only 147 similar incidents were listed by the same cities in 1944.

The terrific increase in racial incidents involves many Negro veterans and Mexicans.

COMMITTEE ACTS

Taking the lead in trying to check these continued disturbances is the Austin Chapter of the American Veterans Committee. A special committee has been appointed to confer with Colonel Garrison in an effort to do something about it.

Colonel Garrison said he has repeatedly urged public officials and all citizens to use legal means in solving differences. "We expect, and are prepared, for increasing trouble and will meet it with vigorous action and unswerving adherence to a long-standing policy of impartiality," he added.

NO MOB RULE

Sat 5-4-46

He emphasized the fact that "There will be no mob rule in Texas by any race or group."

Colonel Garrison's State police established an unusual record for the South in 1944 when they arrested more whites than Negroes in the serious racial outburst in Beaumont. State policemen are well trained for such incidents.

Colonel Garrison has no control over the training of city and county police departments, where discriminatory treatment of Negroes is the rule. This will be one of the major problems the AVC committee will consider.

REASONS FOR CLASHES

Additional racial disturbances in Texas are expected because:

1. Increased unemployment in recent months is reviving competition for employment among Negroes, Americans of Mexican ancestry and native Americans.

2. Approximately 150,000 Negro GIs are returning to find that white Texans expect colored veterans to return to their pre-war status.

MEXICANS INVOLVED

Sat 5-4-46

Some of the recent racial incidents:

1. Veterans of Mexican ancestry involved in street fights with Texans in San Angelo.

2. A Negro veteran was killed by an officer, and his two brothers, one still in service, were charged with assault after a filling station row in El Campo.

3. Negro and white soldiers stationed at Sheppard Field, Wichita Falls, involved in two street fights.

SPREADS TO KENTUCKY

Texas is not the only State having racial trouble. Most recent of these incidents was reported last week in Frankfort, Ky. Bars and liquor stores were closed briefly in the River Bottom District, known as "The Craw," following a flare-up. Trouble started when a city fireman, Bixie Fallis, claimed his wife was pushed from the sidewalk by a colored man. Fallis was hit with a shovel and James Owens, said to be a Kentucky State College student, was arrested and booked on a disorderly conduct charge. Several others were injured during clashes that followed.

AMERICA REVISITED

Defender Chicago, Ill.

Animals First; Negroes Second

Sat. 9-14-46

By ENOC P. WATERS JR.

FORT WORTH, Texas—Out of a $20,800,000 bond issue voted last year, Fort Worth plans to build an $85,000 monkey house at its zoo, but has turned down the request of Negroes for a technical high school.

As ridiculous as this may sound, it is an accurate picture of an economically prosperous city of a quarter million souls that is as sociologically backward as any community I have seen.

Though Negroes constitute a full 10 per cent of the population, there is no realization on part of those in control that they are integrally tied up with the future of the city and that neglect of Negro residents is bound to be reflected in every facet of the community's life.

That's why the decision to build an $85,000 monkey house which Negroes will be permitted to visit only one day a year when an element of the population is in dire need of education, does not seem incongruous.

Ignore Negro Needs

The needs of Negroes here are invariably ignored. Negroes do receive — perhaps because their presence can't be ignored — the meager crumbs of a white paternalism that is unwilling to grant that they are entitled to anything as citizens, as taxpayers, or as persons who make their contribution along with others to the wealth of the whole community.

This is believed to be the chief reason why the unsolicited recommendations of the Council of Community Agencies was ignored by public officials charged with spending the $20,000,000 the city has been authorized to borrow. The council is a federation of 19 Negro organizations.

Expect Greater Disparities

As things now stand, the disparities existing between facilities provided for whites and Negroes will be even greater after the expenditure of the huge loan. The increase in people, jobs, and wealth that came to this community during the war, did not stop with the end of hostilities. There are jobs for all, though, in the case of the Negro, they may not be desirable jobs. There are too many "only white Christians need apply" signs for prosperity to be universal.

Negroes operate 40 different types of businesses. They own a successful bank. The professional men—there's not a Negro lawyer in the city—are overworked and successful. There are a half dozen hotels, and three Negro papers, the largest of which is the Fort Worth Mind.

Charles Robinson, an overseas veteran, is heading up a highly successful contracting firm that in recent months has completed $200,000 worth of new construction.

There are two privately owned hospitals: Ethel Ransom and Dorsey Hospital and Clinic to which Dr. E. L. Dorsey has just added a $100,000 addition.

60 Per Cent Housing Bad

There's a large excellently equipped YMCA built by William "Gooseneck Bill" McDonald, Negro banker and fraternal leader; a clean, well maintained YWCA headed by Miss Mae Cora Steward, and a progressive Urban League branch of which Miss Cernoria Johnson, now on leave, is executive secretary.

These are some of the visual evidences of the industry and prosperity of Negroes.

However, 60 per cent of Negro housing is sub-standard. Negro teachers receive less than white teachers. There are insufficient school facilities; inadequate recreational facilities and only fair health provisions.

It is the feeling of many here that the progressiveness of a small group of Negroes has made it easy for the city to ignore its obligations to the race. Unfortunately a wide chasm separates the professional and intellectual Negroes who have had most to do with Negro progress here and the underprivileged. Consequently it has been difficult to develop any sort of mass unity.

Two Hopeful Factors

Part of the difficulty is geographic. Unlike many cities where they live in one large ghetto, Negroes here are decentralized, living in at lease six definite areas. Another difficulty here is failure of the people to decide on what need is most important. Though the picture here is neither as dark nor as hopeless as it is in many other communities, it is far from what it should be.

The two most encouraging factors in the community are veterans and liberal whites.

Though there are several veterans' organizations here, two are important: the McCumbry-Brooks Post No. 5617 of the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the American Veterans' Committee.

The former, headed by Contractor Robinson, is the largest numerically having more than 100 members. Only four or five months old, it has been able, with the assistance of other organizations, to get a veterans' vocational program installed at the local Negro high school.

AVC Is Active

The AVC is significant because of its interracial character. About six of its 20 members are colored and Williams is treasurer. If it has no other value, the opportunity of meeting together enables white veterans to know something of the problems of the Negro buddies.

In a community where most whites are harrassed by a multiplicity of fears—fears of organized labor, federal control, outside influences, social equality, Negro votes, Communism, CIO, Russia, intellectual freedom, freedom of speech, Jews and Catholicism—there are only a few intelligent whites.

49 Va. Afro American Baltimore, Md. Sat 5-4-46

One of the most imposing structures in Norfolk is this one, Daddy Grace's House of Prayer for All People. The bulk of Tidewater people find diversion in either lodge or church activities and Daddy Grace's converts have emerged as one of the wealthiest and most united groups in the area, says the AFRO's Vincent Tubbs in the accompanying article on Tidewater.

Racial Differentials

The white high school, 1 of 12, has 68 teachers and a far more comprehensive curriculum.

Colored persons have a total of six schools, technically six names since a single principal often interests included:

Community Hospital, only colored medical center in both Norfolk and Portsmouth; a $10,000,000 slum clearance program designed to wipe out a large part of the colored "ghetto" section; new school buildings and recreation centers.

The city needs all these and the man to have helped get them quickly found it necessary to drop the reins, reportedly because councilmen preferred to discuss public business in private rather than have the press and people in on their meeting.

Plan Own Representation

However, local residents are girding now to send their own liaison man into city government by electing young Victor Ashe, Villanova-trained attorney, to the council.

Norfolk's prospects look good—up to date. The past political record is also reasonably encouraging.

Heading countless political groups is the Community Democratic Club, chartered, 16 years old, and guardian of the 4,300 potential colored voters who have paid their poll taxes.

Young Blood Welcomed

Its civic significance lies in the facts that:

1. It is no one-man setup — all steps being subject to committee action;
2. It has usually insisted that candidates seeking its support take open stands on basic issues, and
3. It has given money when and where such a gift made friends and favorable impressions.

While the group is made up largely of the old-line individuals, headed by Dr. C. F. Coppage, the decision to back Ashe in the race indicates that the "old heads" are not dogmatically averse to younger blood taking over.

There are, however, some who have just gotten on the Ashe bandwagon apparently because failure to do so would have inestimable repercussions.

"Single Shot" Voting Urged

From here, it seems that Ashe has a good chance, provided the 4,300 registrants back him with a "single shot" vote, writing only one name on the ballot, though one can vote for three persons for the three council vacancies.

In the Ashe supporters' favor is the fact that a three-way split of white votes may result from the fact that there are the incumbents vs. businessmen vs. independents between whom the whites must choose.

Everyone to whom I've talked says he is going to vote for Ashe, while some 5,000 veterans eligible without paying poll tax are being rallied to the "single shot" voting plan.

Teachers Doing Good Job

The teachers and postal employees — very important in civic life—are talking the thing up, and, while speaking of teachers it must be said they're trojans.

Beside their daily duties, their extra-curricula activities are gigantic. They get paid on par with white teachers but should get an additional bonus except that they are sometimes a little snooty.

An Affected Attire

Stiff-collared clubs, fraternities and sororities are their heavy suits while they look down the nose at the man in the streets who turns to lodges, brotherhoods and Daddy Grace's church for a place to place his faith and break the work-a-day routine.

God Separated Them

Times-Dispatch

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

In regard to Mr. Evers' letter (VOP, October 21) about God and the Negro, I would like to ask him if he has ever stopped and wondered: if God wanted the colors mixed, why did He separate them? Richmond, Va.

Didn't He put the red man in one place, the black in another, and the yellow and white man each in a different place? If He had wanted us mixed, why don't we have different colored children? Mon. 10-28-46

God tells us to love our neighbors, but He doesn't say we have to mix in order to do so. Man started the mixing, not God, and the world has been upset ever since.

Neither do we hate because we do not want to mix. I do not hate anyone, but there are some I do not care to mix with, not because I think myself better but because our habits and ideas are not the same.

MRS. RUTH WEBSTER.
Richmond, RFD.

'Whites Must Help'

Times-Dispatch

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

In answer to an article written by James Wyatt Moore, of Charlottesville, appearing in the Voice of the People on Nov. 1.

Instead of criticizing those who are trying to improve the status of the Negro, he should first look about himself in Virginia as a whole and see what the picture really is.

Being a Negro, one of those so-called anguished souls, I know that it is not a bed of roses living as a second-rate individual almost everywhere we go. We are judged too often not as persons who are entitled to the opportunities of any other citizen, but instead as persons who should close their eyes to what they are entitled to and accept what is given without a grumble. Richmond, Va.

He stated that there are many fine people of the Negro race who have no visible mental difficulty. Did he expect them to go around with a long face because they realize that they are often not given a fair break?

Is it an imaginary wrong when we are kept in a certain limited sphere of endeavor because of our color; when we are paid less in many cases for the same work; when we are asked our race before our qualifications when, in applying for a job, many of us have to go to the courts to obtain those rights guaranteed all American citizens under the Constitution. Mon. 11-4-46

I don't believe Mr. Moore can find a single Negro who will laugh at Bilbo. It is not a pleasant thought to know that men with the ideals of Bilbo can aspire and attain a seat in the highest lawmaking body in the land, and especially so when his main pledge was to keep the Negro in his place as he saw it. Still we hang and imprison men in Europe for injustices against mankind. Still he cannot see that there is anything in the country, not even in the South, to keep the Negro down.

True, the Negro has come a long way since the days of Lincoln, and he did it on merit; but not without the aid of white people who believe in true democracy.

HENRY C. TERRY, JR.
Richmond.

Amusements for Negroes

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

I read a letter in VOP from one of our colored citizens who mourned that his fellows were allowed to buy only about 40 or 50 poor seats at all cultural amusements which visit our city.

I want to ask why we are so hoggish to our fellow citizens just because we belong to a different race. I suggest that we share some of the visiting performers more fully with our neighbors by giving them a special performance, or, if this is too much extra time for a group to give, why not set aside some one event for them alone? It may be found that there will not be many attending, for we pay our colored helpers so little that they seldom have much surplus for fun.

At any rate, I am sure that they could not be so unappreciative as two white audiences are said to have been last Winter, and I believe that a gesture of this kind might be one that would lead to happier relations in our city. I do not believe that the artists would object to giving it a trial, for to them the show is the important thing.

Hopewell. M. E. DRISCOLL.

White Spectators Banned by Police

LYNCHBURG, July 26—An order forbidding white persons from attending Negro orchestra engagements, even as spectators, has been issued to the police by City Manager R. W. B. Hart, who said he took the step to curb "incipient trouble between the races."

First intimation of the action came Monday night when 200 white persons were refused admittance to a "name" orchestra's show in city armory. Doormen said police had ordered the white spectators banned.

Charlie Gilmore, Negro promoter of orchestras in Lynchburg and Roanoke, said Lynchburg was the first city in the South, to his knowledge, to take such action and he planned to protest to City Council at its next meeting.

AMERICA REVISITED

'Back To Normalcy' In Virginia

By ENOC P. WATERS

(EDITOR'S NOTE: This is the first of two articles on conditions in the backward tidewater area of Virginia. It is part of the "America Revisited" series by Enoc P. Waters, formerly war correspondent for the Chicago Defender.)

NORFOLK, Va.—The war is over, and everybody here knows it, because the American flag that flew so bravely over this area during the war has been lowered, and the flag of the Confederacy once more is unfurled.

The era of wartime democracy is gone. Once more the heel of segregation and discrimination presses heavily on the neck of the Negro. You can smell it in the air, heavy once more with racial bitterness, poverty, poor health and frustration.

America Revisited

You can see it:—in two Memorial Day parades planned, one white, one colored; in the barring of Negroes from post war jobs and social events.

In the gloom of resurgent ignorance, however, there is a thin wedge of light, as a new and developing Negro resistance handicaps the apostles of Jim Crow. A small band of relatively awakened whites has joined the forces of liberation. And within the narrow limits of segregation, the press is developing a sense of fair play to the Negroes.

Economically, the Negro has salvaged slight gains from the war period. In federal employment there is some job upgrading. white fellow citizens.

Bad Housing

More than the white is the Negro a victim of the dilapidated slovenliness of the Norfolk area (including Portsmouth) where there has been little new construction in many years.

With a population jump variously estimated between 35,000 and 118,000 during the war years the population is tending to remain static while job opportunities are going into a sharp decline. Negroes account for 6,000 to 30,000 of the census increase.

While jobs go into a decline, the city's merchants cling to the skyrocketed prices of commodities. An average breakfast cost me $1.35; a 20-block cab ride, $1.55; night club admission is a dollar, with a 50 cents charge for a bottle of beer inside.

Private industry cannot absorb the Negroes discharged from government jobs, especially skilled workers, who also face the barrier of all-white unions. Bernard Smith, in charge of the Negro division of the local USES, said two-thirds of the area's Negro veterans are on readjustment allowance because they will not accept "any job," while specific jobs are overcrowded or not available to them.

Some of the Negro war-accumulated wealth remains, however. In 1940 Negroes owned some 6,723 homes, valued at $9,809,650, while the assessed value of Negro home furnishings rose from $1,817,230 in 1944 to $2,320,160 in 1945. Negro purchasing power amounts to $60,000,000 per year.

Schools Crowded

Schools and recreational facilities in Norfolk for the Negro are outmoded and overcrowded. Only one hospital serves in Norfolk for the Negroes exclusively and gives Negro doctors a chance to get surgical experience. In housing the city fathers seem to have given up hope of renovation of decay, or they just don't give a damn.

Negroes get less for their money in purchases and taxes here than in any northern metropolis. Coupled with the low income resulting from color bars, this is near tragedy.

Most significant in the Negroes' fight against these conditions is the new political militancy, symbolized by the candidacy of Victor J. Ashe, war veteran and attorney, for a seat in the city council. This is a challenge to the reign of Publisher P. B. Young, of the Norfolk Journal and Guide.

Through his paper Young, for several decades, has been the spokesman of the Negro community, although Negro leaders unanimously agree the paper no longer expresses the sentiment of the people

The ballot has suddenly become the weapon with which the Negro proposes to take a "fearless and uncompromising stand against segregation and discrimination," one man said. The veterans are keenly alive to the value of the ballot.

Meanwhile public officials are astir. A new Negro housing project, is placed on the drafting board. Appropriations have been voted for a new school, to replace the two old buildings.

The prerequisites to progressive action are here, a challenge of old leadership, a growing reliance on the ballot, a dissatisfaction with status quo. Norfolk Negroes are on the move. There is reason to believe they are going somewhere.

AMERICA REVISITED

Virginia Marches—Backward

EDITOR'S NOTE: This is the second of two articles on conditions in the backward Tidewater area of Virginia.

By ENOC P. WATERS

NEWPORT NEWS—On the other side of Hampton Roads, now dotted with moribund war-born freighters, is Newport News.

Physically it is far different from Norfolk. It is younger, having been founded in 1861. Its streets are broader and its buildings less weatherbeaten.

Spawned by a shipyard, the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Corporation, the city is less depressive than much older Norfolk.

But, unlike Norfolk as Newport News is physically, the Negro living here faces many of the same problems. There is the same overcrowding, a greater job scarcity, the same home shortage, the same prejudiced and selfish public officials. But here too the Negro is fighting.

Although Newport News now is larger than in 1940, the 40-60 ratio of Negroes to whites is still about the same. The city totals 43,694 people now.

Little Effect

The war itself has had very little lasting effect on race relations. The shipyard, largest employer in the area, still is adamant in its refusal to open skilled jobs to Negro workers.

The shipyard's attitude can best be described as paternalistic—an attitude that assures Negro employes they won't starve, but prevents them from living as well as the white man.

The shipyard employment policy sets the pattern for the area. And since unskilled workers are first fired when cutbacks come, Negroes are losing their jobs at a greater rate than whites.

Oddly enough, more than 54 per cent of Negroes here own their own homes, while deposits in the Negro-owned Crown Savings Bank have increased from $815,672 in 1941 to $2,531,600.30 in 1946. However 55 per cent of the depositors are white.

Race Paradoxes

In the field of race relations Newport News presents startling paradoxes.

White surgeons who refuse to allow colored surgeons to operate on Negro patients at white hospitals work side by side with Negro medics at Whittaker Memorial Hospital, administered entirely by Negroes.

White office seekers, many relying heavily on Negro votes, will not lift a finger to encourage Negroes to vote. Whites often go to Negro bankers for advice, though fearful of moves for equality.

Most important recent development in race relations that has effectively slowed the fight for equality occurred when paternalistic white Superintendent of Public Schools Joseph H. Saunders tried to get a group of Negro teachers to back down in their fight for wages equal to white teachers.

Incident ended with the cancellation of the contracts of six Negro educators. Petitions and protests by colored and white citizens came in a torrent, but the board was adamant.

When successors to the dismissed men were announced, Negroes here said that some of their most effective, militant leadership had been crushed. Tied in with this was the defeat of young lawyer Wendell Walker in his campaign for election to the city council.

Maintain Spirit

But the spirit is still in the Negro community. "If we can only overcome our sense of defeat, predicts Dr. L. F. Palmer, one of the dismissed educators, "we'll move ahead rapidly."

One of the phenomena of the war period was the failure of the

CIO efforts to organize the shipyard. The yard is reputed to have spent huge sums to defeat the union, a stand aided by refusal of Negro leaders to back the CIO. Not one Negro church, I was told, would open its doors to the union for meetings. This left a "company" union, which refuses to concern itself with Negro upgrading. It does nothing about the exclusion of Negroes from the apprentice school of the shipyard.

Negro leadership here, as in Norfolk is split on the problem of integration. Conservative elements advocate a bi-racial economy that admits the impossibility of Negroes ever becoming an integrated part of the economy of the area. 5-25-46

Spokesman for the progressive element is Atty. Walker, who advocates CIO unionism and is uncompromising in his belief that it is impossible for Negroes to achieve equality so long as Jim Crow exists. Segregation, he said, must be abolished. Chicago, Ill.

Tidewater, Va.

(49)

Leading Peninsula City, Norfolk Unifies Segments to Guarantee Representation on City Council; Positive Plans Made for Internal Development

Afro American
Baltimore, Md.
Sat 5-4-46

By VINCENT TUBBS
Staff Correspondent

NORFOLK, Va. — One crosses Hampton Roads from the Peninsula into this part of Tidewater by riding one of several dozens of ferry boats, this section having failed to progress to simple little engineering feats like bridges.

Tubbs Describes These Familiar Scenes in the Tidewater Area

This is Church St. and Brambleton Ave., a busy corner in the main section of Norfolk, Va., where water stands a foot deep when there has been a heavy rain. Each evening at 5 o'clock, the corner becomes a horrible traffic mixup, with wagons like the one shown here aggravating an already bad situation resulting from streets too narrow and vehicles too big.

What smacks the visitor hardest in the face, no matter how far below the Mason-Dixon he was born, is the studied segregation screaming so loudly from the cramped little colored waiting room and the "colored this way" signs all over the countryside.

Planned Humiliation

It seems everything in the South, everything about the South, is designed to make the colored man feel that he is the world's most despised biped.

Bus station baggage rooms are usually larger and cleaner than the jim-crow waiting rooms, a man buying cigarettes in a station is served through the backdoor or a hole in the wall.

The turnstile in the corner is reserved for colored persons; the furthest way around to the worst of everything is the colored way; yet all pay the same amount of the same kind of money.

Norfolk Held as Leader

Norfolk and Portsmouth are no exceptions, though Norfolk is somehow conceded leadership among Tidewater's major cities. That fact is probably the most confusing thing to one who visits them in turn.

Newport News was planned before any building was done, the result being that it is reasonably orderly and orthodox. Hampton, scarcely more than an oversized village, is neat and not too badly run down.

Portsmouth, with sizeable suburbs and a lot of Norfolk County ostensibly included in its boundaries, is actually just a one-street town, but the streets are wide and houses are set far enough apart for privacy.

Backward in Appearance

But, Norfolk—the leader—is dirty, disheveled and dumpy looking, and in addition is almost under water half the time.

Moreover, except for the Broad Creek Road and Federal Housing project sectors, the entire lot of colored homes (Lambert's Point included) could stand painting and repairs.

However, simply because Norfolk is the most unsightly of Tidewater towns, it must not be taken that it is not really a leader in other respects.

Job Chances Good

It has a gigantic navy yard and massive fertilizer plants which employ hundreds; there are railroading, fishing, stevedoring and some selected naval base jobs available to colored.

There are also sufficient businesses to maintain a sizeable colony of white collar workers who cast their lot with the teachers, civil service employees and professionals to make up an important element of social, civic and political leaders.

Just in passing, it should be noted that the Norfolk Navy Yard isn't in Norfolk at all. It's in Portsmouth, and according to legend was named for Norfolk only because there was already a Portsmouth Navy Yard in New Hampshire.

A Naval Temperment

Norfolkians are a proud lot just the same. Why this year, on the 101st anniversary of its official designation as a city, the metropolis adopted itself a blue and gold spangled flag, and announced itself "essentially a Navy city."

The Navy puts thousands of its seamen ashore in Hampton Roads and trains thousands more at the Norfolk Naval Base.

The Navy temperament, it is felt, affected the city, resulting in the open hostilities early this year between the city council and the city manager who resigned.

Affect of Resignation

Ex-City Manager Charles Borland had been a particularly good friend to minorities in Norfolk during his eight-year tenure. His heads two elementary school buildings.

College Program Extended

Recently, however, the educational progressives feathered their caps with a $110,000 renovation job to an old hospital building which now serves as Norfolk Division of Virginia State College.

The four-story structure includes business offices, cafeteria, auditorium, classrooms, a manual training shop and a library, which should prove a boom to booklovers.

Previously, there was only the extremely inadequate Blyden Branch Public Library, run by Mrs. J. E. Moon in an eight-year-old remodeled homestead, with a mere 10,000 volumes.

Whites have, beside the main downtown library, five well-equipped and well-staffed branches.

Serious Need Filled

Mrs. Moon, who states that the figures show only a part of the actual work and activities of the branch, reveals that 2,033 borrowers used, alternately, over 18,000 books during 1945.

Approximately 1500 of the borrowers are children who, as national recreation expert W. C. Batchelor has told city officials, do not have adequate playgrounds for their numbers.

Mr. Batchelor, whose recommendations are bringing results, revealed that in the largest colored section with over 38,000 persons, 4,512 of whom are school-children, and the need is for 15 playgrounds, there are only 8 playgrounds, 5 of which are too small.

Improvements Planned

He recommended a minimum of 50 playgrounds for whites and 27 for colored, of which the city now has just 33, only 6 reserved for colored.

But things are looking up. A $101,000 appropriation has been set aside for recreational improvements, $38,000 of which is earmarked for improvement of three colored playgrounds.

In addition, Mr. Batchelor recommended a 21-year recreation expansion program calling for expenditure of $125,000 a year for seven years, $100,000 for the next seven and $75,000 for the last period.

Citizens Unite for Action

A committee describing itself as "non-partisan, bi-racial and city-wide" has launched a drive to ed a steeped culture that brings countless school choirs, concert singers and nationally known speakers into its meeting houses.

The average wage earner doesn't understand Brahms as well as he does boogie, but, like all Norfolkians, he knows how to raise money for various and sundry things.

$10,000 Project Cited

One example: The Beacon Light Civic and Social Club (picked at random), is currently engaged in a "concentrated effort" to raise $10,000 for community recreational facilities.

And if you don't think they'll raise it, you should look at what they're doing for Daddy Grace—or vice versa.

One of the most imposing colored-owned edifices on Church St.—the main drag—is the Grace House of Prayer for all People. One of the most colorful of numerous lodge and church parades held annually in the town is the Grace promenade.

USO in Portsmouth

Across the river in Portsmouth, one of the most significant civic and religious movements is that of Bishop H. Z. Plummer and his House of Saints where communal living gives succor to hundreds and religious expression to thousands.

Bishop Plummer bought and renovated for occupancy what is now the only service men's center, the USO "home," run by Miss Trevor Givings of Dayton, Ohio. And, speaking of recreation in Portsmouth, the city has none for colored. The factory-like Norcom High School has a playground and the city has stuck a sign on the front of a church. AND THAT IS ALL, except for the Federal project playgrounds.

Miss Givings

The eight-room USO handles 12,000 to 15,000 men per month and there is neither a YMCA nor a YWCA.

3rd Poorest Before War

Although the city was reputedly the "third poorest" in the nation during peace-time, its normal population of 50,000 jumped to 180,000 during the war.

Moreover, the additional 130,000 people, including the estimated one-third colored, put a lot of their wartime wages into local coffers.

Schools Feel Poverty

The question now is whether alleged public poverty will again stymie expansion of school facilities for colored people as was the case in 1936 when the factory-like structure, Norcom High, was erected.

At that time, the gymnasium, auditorium and cafeteria were scratched off the blueprints because funds were short—so it is said.

Virginia

Williamsburg, Virginia, might have been the United Nations world capital. It will not be. It cradled many of our best traditions of the revolution; but it has the stench of the slave market.

Not in a Slave Market!

By ROBERT MINOR

WILIAMSBURG, Va.

THE United Nations "world capital" might have been Williamsburg, Va. It won't be. In many ways Williamsburg would have been the best site.

Of course if the UNO had decided to pick a location in the newest of all the great republics—newest in the sense of being the most advanced product of revolutionary history—then the location would be at some such place as Yalta, or Leningrad. But since it is agreed that the "world capital" of the United Nations is to be in the oldest of the great republics founded by revolutionary struggle—the United States—what more appropriate city could be found than Williamsburg, shrine of the American revolution?

That is, from one point of view.

Here in Williamsburg all of the old buildings that were scenes of the revolutionary past have been restored and made public monuments. The representatives of the democratic nations of the world could look upon instructive landmarks of Bacon's rebellion 100 years before the successful American Revolution, the scenes of Thomas Jefferson's boyhood at the second-oldest university in the Western world. They could be shown the old tavern in which the Committee of Safety met, and could take turns at sitting in the seat in the old Virginia State capitol from which Patrick Henry rose to say "If this be treason, make the most of it."

But Williamsburg cannot be the world capital of the United Nations.

Williamsburg sent an imposing delegation to London to make sure that its remarkable qualifications be known.

A splendid tract of 10,500 acres—once the site of the Camp Peary naval station—was set aside by the City of Williamsburg to be offered as a home to the United Nations. This is three and one-half times as large as the tract offered by Ridgefield, Conn., and much larger than can well be had at Hyde Park, N. Y. Ashton Dovell of Williamsburg and Lieutenant-Commander R. B. Bottom of Newport News, Va., made an eloquent plea before the UNO interim committee in London.

A commission of the United Nations was then leaving London for the United States to pick out a site. It consists of a man from Yugoslavia, chairman; a man from China, vice-chairman; and one each from France, Iraq, Great Britain, Uruguay and Soviet Russia.

Would they consider seriously the charms of Williamsburg?

But the Associated Press reported Commander Bottom as saying:

"We were told that so long as Virginia has a 'Jimcrow' law, it could not be considered."

The United Nations has a Charter, the preamble of which makes it a principle of life and death—a principle for which these nations fought the great war and on the basis of which war criminals are now on trial for their lives—that there shall be no discrimination based on race, creed and color.

It was for these gentlemen as though the wind had changed and they smelled their own breath.

"If under any circumstances," said Commander Bottom, sadly, "Virginia could assure the UNO committee that the impediment would be removed, then the (interim) committee would recommend that the Williamsburg site be considered. The same holds true for any state below the Mason and Dixon line."

Bottom and Dovell argued passionately that the Jimcrow laws of Virginia might be changed; and there was some talk of a possible arrangement for "extra-territoriality" by which the laws and unwritten brutalities of Virginia might be suspended from operation within the grounds of the UNO.

Williamsburg will not be the capital of the United Nations. One reason, at least, will be that the small ruling class of Virginia prefers the filth of slavery to the decencies of modern democratic peoples. The Jimcrow system is the leprosy that keeps the world away from the South.

The Byrds and Smiths and their masters in financial exploitation of Virginia will make a furious fight against effective change, and it will not be easy.

It is not easy to win fights when three-fourths of the people are swindled out of the right to vote and the mass of the working and farming population is forbidden by law to even sit together in the same hall.

But you may be very sure, just the same, that the Jimcrow system is going to be wiped out in Virginia. A look at the struggle now, in which the CIO is mobilizing masses for the destruction of the last traces of slavery, will convince anyone that the people are growing strong enough to win.

'After All, They Are People'

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

A couple of years ago I was a teacher in a high school in a rural community in the foothills of the Blue Ridge. One day I objected during the freshman "citizenship" class to the word "nigger," which had been used by one of the pupils; and I explained that, since we in that class were trying to learn how to be good citizens, it would be better not to use a word which a large group of other citizens of our community considered an insult.

Following the ensuing discussion, one little girl timidly raised her hand and said: "You know, Miz Clarke, I guess we ain't got no right to call them 'niggers.' After all, they are people."

Aren't some citizens of Richmond, by trying to displace the colored settlement in Westwood, forgetting that "after all, they are people"?

MRS. J. C. CLARKE, JR.

Richmond.

Communists Urge Repeal of Jim Crow

RICHMOND, Va.—Lashing out against the Jim Crow and segregation laws, Miss Alice Burke, state chairman of the Communist Party, declared that Virginians "were shocked and shamed" when the United Nations Organization announced that "Virginia was not a fit place for the seat of the world democracy," and through its legislature bulletin called upon the Virginia General Assembly to "outlaw the Un-American, Un-Democratic, Fascist Jim Crow and segregation laws.

Specifically Miss Burke proposed that the 1946 Assembly begin repeal of Section 140 of Article Nine of the Constitution of Virginia; and repeal of all Jim Crow and segregation laws on the statute books of the state.

JOB SECURITY

The legislative program urged a $1,500 salary minimum for all teachers without discrimination and called for free text books and hot lunches for all children to be paid for out of state funds; and recommended elimination of the 1,552 one-room, one teacher schools. Establishment of a free state University for white and Negro students is advocated, with maintenance scholarships for the needy.

The program asked establishment of the vote for 18 year olds; called for abolition of the poll tax and opposed the proposal to close elections.

Declaring that "a job with good wages to provide decent food, home, clothes, education and security was what every worker and farmer needed," the Communist Party Legislative Bulletin called for enactment of a state 65c minimum hourly wage, for a state FEPC; for huge public works; for amending the Virginia Unemployment Act to provide $25 for 26 weeks to those who can't find work.

Jim Crow Law Prevents Va. Choice As UNO Headquarters

The Atlanta Daily World, Atlanta, Ga.

LONDON — (NNP) — Lt. Commander Raymond B. Bottom, one of two delegates who came to London with an invitation for the United Nations Organizations to locate its headquarters in Virginia, said Saturday "we were told that so long as Virginia has a Jim Crow law it could not be considered."

1-13-46

Commander Bottom, a Newport News publisher, made the statement after he and Ashton Dovell of Williamsburg, Virginia, were received informally by UNO interim committee members last Friday. They arrived in London too late to state their case at the formal hearings on the site question.

IMPEDIMENT SEEN

Referring to the Jim Crow law, Commander Bottom said:

"If under any circumstances Virginia could assure the UNO committee that the impediment would be removed, then the (interim committee would recommend that the Williamsburg site be considered The same holds true for any State below the Mason and Dixon line."

He explained that the preamble of the UNO charter specifically bans any discrimination based on race, creed or color. *1-13-46*

Commander Bottom said there was a "growing sentiment" against the Jim Crow law in Virginia and added that he believed it 'probably will be repealed in due time, but we have no reason to presume that the present situation will hasten the action."

The site offered by the Virginians is a 10,500-acre tract at Williamsburg which comprised the Camp Peary naval station.

'Jim Crow' Law Bar to UNO Seat

Times Dispatch, Richmond, Va.

LONDON, Jan. 5—(AP)—Raymond B. Bottom, one of two delegates who came to London with an invitation for the United Nations Organization to locate its headquarters in Virginia, said tonight "we were told that so long as Virginia has a 'Jim Crow' law, it could not be considered."

Bottom, a Newport News publisher, made the statement after he and Ashton Dovell of Williamsburg, Va., were received informally byNUO interim committee members yesterday. *1-6-46*

Referring to the "Jim Crow" law, Bottom said:

"If under any circumstances Virginia could assure the UNO committee that the impediment would be removed, then the (interim) commitee would recommend that the Williamsburg site be considered. The same holds true for any State below the Mason and Dixon Line."

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For Abolishing Segregation

Richmond, Va. Times-Dispatch

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

I agree with the article sent in by Rosie Green on January 22 stating that there is too much segregation.

I believe that there are quite a few who agree that the "Mother of States" should be the very first to abolish her Jim Crow laws. The reply of the UNO interim committee to Virginia's request to be its headquarters put the spotlight on Virginia. Had I been one of the delegates who made the request I would have felt like "going through the floor." The truth is the light. *1-27-46*

After all, segregation should mean absolutely nothing to intelligent people. What is it that the whites have that get them more places than the Negro? It is only a matter of color. In the sight of God it profits nothing. So, as brothers, let us all give this proper consideration and demand action.

MISS DEBORAH B. LOVE.
Richmond.

Irrelevant Argument

Richmond Times Dispatch

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

In regard to the letter that appeared in The Times-Dispatch of May 20, entitled "Purity Begins at Home," I would like to add my two cents.

I agree with G. A. Tompkins that the Negro should have equal rights but I do not agree that he lived in foxholes, suffered and died as the white man did in this past war. If you would check the records I believe you would find that out of some 70 combat divisions in Europe and the Mediterranean area, there was only one Negro division and I believe only one air corps unit. *Mon. 5-27-46*

I do not intend to offend any Negro who distinguished himself in combat, but I do not think anyone is justified in using the Negro's combat record as a means of stirring up sympathy for abolition of the segregation laws.

I spent over three years in Africa and Europe.

M. J. McGOVERN.
Richmond. *Richmond, Va.*

Champ's Insult Nothing New To People Who Ride Ferries

Journal & Guide, Norfolk, Va. 1-26-46

PORTSMOUTH—The unfavorable experiences of Heavyweight Champion Joe Louis, who was abused by a hired man in the Portsmouth terminal of the Norfolk ferry Friday when he sought to buy a magazine, is nothing new to local colored passengers who must tolerate the jim-crow facilities of this municipally-owned utility.

Making the mistake of trying to buy a publication in what is set aside as the white waiting room of the terminal, the champion was soundly abused by a little man who happened to be working there. This incident was "news" only because it happened to Joe Louis.

OLD, OLD CUSTOM

It has long been the practice of the ferry management to hire elderly white men who are maimed and young ones who are often lacking of necessary tactful experience, to handle the transportation chores. Not knowing, or caring, about the feelings of colored passengers, these hired hands often fail to exercise even the simple courtesies. *1-26-46*

Acts of discrimination are very common. For instance, when the great Victory Parade was recently staged in Norfolk, hundreds of Portsmouthians, white and colored, went to Norfolk to see the grand event.

MAKE OWN LAWS

Pedestrian traffic was heavy that morning and the men who handle such situations worked out their own system of handling the crowds. They opened the doors of the white waiting room, allowing white people only to board the boat. Then they opened the doors of the colored room, leaving the colored passengers to make their way as best they could.

Colored passengers boarding the boat found white people occupying the compartment usually reserved for them. The colored passengers pushed into the compartment as best they could, and finally arrived in Norfolk. *1-26-46*

THE HARD WAY

Another act of discrimination which is practiced by the ferries is the requirement for colored passengers to always ocupy the compartment that is across the line of vehicular traffic. The boats operating between Portsmouth and Norfolk provide two passenger compartments. Neither is marked "colored" or "white." It is simply an old, old custom for colored passengers to occupy the room that is the most difficult to get to.

These acts of discrimination have been generally tolerated as evils that are by-products of the South's unholy pattern of segregation. Colored leaders have long contended that segregation is just another word for discrimination.

JIM CROW RULE HINDRANCE TO PROSPERITY AND RIGHTEOUSNESS SAY WHITES IN VIRGINIA DAILY

Call America "A Festering Sore of Injustice"

"FAR FROM WORLD FREEDOM" SAYS SOUTHERN WOMAN

RICHMOND, Va.—Growing interest in Negro welfare by white Southerners was clearly demonstrated here last month in two outstanding letters written to the daily Richmond Times Dispatch "Voice of the People" column.

Since the war, this column has carried frequent letters castigating the jim crow carrier and exclusion regulations in the South. The letters follow:

White Citizens Would End Jim Crow Transportation

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

Sitting under the shadow of Monticello, the cradle of democracy and the home of Thomas Jefferson, the great apostle of democracy, I am thinking of the opportunity which Virginia has in setting the example in helping to make our own state and nation a better place for all humanity, regardless of race, creed or religion.

We are living in a postwar world with its new problems, inventions and opportunities.

The global war recently ended was fought for world freedom and world peace and to make the entire world a better place in which to live.

Virginia, with its fine traditions and history, has an opportunity to show to the world that the blood shed in this war was not shed in vain and that we did not lose the peace for which the war was fought.

On the statute books of Virginia there are laws which discriminate against members of the colored race. These laws not only are embarrassing to colored people, but in many instances they are an impediment to members of the white race also.

The legislative bodies of our state have an opportunity to take stock of these laws, as a growing business concern would take stock of its business, and eliminate any such laws which are a hindrance to the prosperity and righteousness of our state.

"All Up, Nobody Down"

Since we have no colored person in either of our state lawmaking bodies, we look to the fair mindedness of those who are in authority to help Virginia in particular, and the nation generally, to preserve the peace of the world.

My motto is: "All persons up and nobody down." The late Booker T. Washington wisely said, "No man can keep another man in the ditch except he remains in the ditch with him."

In the words of the hymn, my prayer is: "America, America, God shed His grace on thee; and crown thy good with brotherhood from sea to shining sea."

C. H. BULLOCK
Retired, Secretary YMCA
Charlottesville.

Racial Injustice

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

If it were not tragic it would be laughable to hear all the ranting of the liberty-loving, tyranny-hating Americans over the situations in foreign countries when such a festering sore of injustice exists right in our midst.

I refer to the colored man and his problems. I know of no group in any civilized country which has less representation, is more discriminated against, or is treated more unfairly.

Several years ago, Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, the world-known colored educator, was a patient at Johns Hopkins Hospital.

Despite her world prominence and the fight she put up to lift her people by education, the only room available to her was a small narrow one ordinarily used as a post-operative. And the nurse in charge, one of the variety commonly termed "a Southern gentlewoman of good breeding," refused to call her either Mrs. or Dr., but addressed her as Mary.

In this tiny room, Dr. Bethune received messages and flowers from the President and Mrs. Roosevelt, the King of England, outstanding members of her own race and a few really great white friends.

Simple Civilities Denied

This Southern gentlewoman is typical. We deny to the colored peoples the simple, decent civilities of life; we are indignant if they voice any resentment.

Not long ago on a rainy day I was traveling through Virginia. It was the hour when children were going to school. All along the road I saw colored children, some only 6 or 7, trudging in the cold, wet rain, while the white children went by in buses, some of the buses only half filled. I did not see a bus for the colored children. I hope Virginia has some, but I have not seen one.

In Newport News the population is 39 per cent colored, but they have no voice in the management of the city.

Mell-of-a-Hess

Atlanta Constitution

Editor Constitution: In regard to the letters of the Walker girl and L. R. Jarrill. She is white and wants to stay white. She is outspoken. It would be appreciated if Mr. Jarrill would help this good lady.

The time is here to show our color, the whites must be white and the blacks must be black, as God made them so, and it's honorable.

Gov. Talmadge should be complimented on his courageous fight for white supremacy, and he is not blowing any spite in no one's face either. We do know our country is in a mell-of-a-hess. And we have never been so close to famine and starvation as we are today. Fellow Georgians, let's try to be sensible and see what the plain, unvarnished truth is and get prejudice out of our minds. When the devil comes it is too late to pray. *Sunday*

The colored boys are o. k. and should have equal educational privileges, but all people should be opposed to racial mixing and also social race mixing.

JACK WILLIAMS.

Ellijay.

White Man's Doom

The News and Courier Charleston, S. C.

In reading Timothy Quinn's letter of Sunday, June 30, I agree with him when he said the white man is a burden on the negro.

Your ideas of white supremacy are unfounded and are based on fear. You are afraid of the advancements the colored people might make. In trying to hold the colored man down, you have held yourself back to an extent greater than you realize. Whites of other states are more advanced than the whites of this community because of the fact they were busy doing things more important than trying to impede the progressiveness of the negro. *Thurs. 7-4-46*

Your ideas of white supremacy are outmoded. You are living 50 years behind civilization. I think you have evaded the truth long enough, you might as well face the facts. White supremacy has seen its best days.

MARGUERITE V. PYATT

Charleston.

Cut Out 'Supremacy'

The News and Courier Charleston, S.C.

The phrase "white supremacy" is not used in The News and Courier unless when it is quoted by some politician or other. It is annoying and irritating to colored people. It should be abandoned. That a political party is repeatedly successful is not evidence of "supremacy." The Republicans governed the United States many years and there was never Republican "supremacy." The News and Courier has no faith in New Deal "supremacy" which has been ascendant in some of the Northern city states by and with the contributions of the negro vote on election days. The News and Courier not even sympathetic with the negro supremacy in the Harlems. *Wed. 9-25-46*

Tell It To Old Grandma

COMMENT ON MR. ANDERSON'S VIEW

Editor, The Advertiser: *The Advertiser*

If Mr. W. M. Anderson, Sr., of Montgomery were not so obviously sincere (issue Aug. 16) in his "solution" to the world problem of maintaining peace by "World Constitutional Law," I think he could be rated as the classic example disproving his white supremacy theory. However, Mr. Anderson apparently has reached his conclusion that "God created the white man as a superior being" on principles or proposals or information from sources he believes are reliable.

In early American literature there were writers who, with great finesse and ingenious expedition, proved all sorts of theories by a form of reasoning, or philosophy, called Pragmatism. And one of our literary forefathers proved through the powers of the mind that we, as human beings, do not exist and that nothing around us exists, that we only think we are here. There are almost as many philosophies as there are sins, and some of these methods of thought have about as much direction as a piece of paper bouncing around in the wake of a speeding car. *Montgomery, Ala. Mon. 8-19-46*

Mr. Anderson says, "my solution," "my suggestion," and the "only solution" so many times he sounds like Mr. Graves disparaging The Advertiser editor's youth. I wonder if Mr. Anderson has read "The Anatomy of Peace," by Emery Reves? I wonder if he has heard of a magazine called "Free World," which never stops discussing means of settling the world's headaches?

The truth of the matter is, Mr. Anderson's "solution" is not a solution but a theory. Even as theory, he is taking a big chance calling it the "only" one. He has solved nothing; it is only a formula — a legal test tube into which the ills, the aches, pains, and sorrows of nations may be poured, shaken, and renewed with life of some sort or another.

"Whether the colored races of the world like it or not, God created the white man as a superior being, and it is his divine right and command that he subdue the earth. With this command goes the right and responsibility to rule, justly and fairly, by law and not by war." If Mr. Anderson found his "command" and "divine right" in the teachings of the Bible he should read the rest of it and fit it all together so that it makes sense. Certainly he shouldn't forget "the week shall inherit the earth," and a few thousand other divine rights. The Bible is a book for all colors, races, and beliefs. It does not say, "Ye white men that are heavy laden, ye shall find rest." Nor does it say those who harm one hair of a white child's head already are condemned. The Bible, as I know it, makes no such distinction, and neither, I feel certain, does God. "People is people and men is men!" Their color of skin pigment can't change, one whit, the shape of their souls.

I did not write this letter for the sake of argument. All of us have prejudices, which truly are nothing but lazy thinking, and nobody can tell us about our prejudices without arousing our tempers. But there are too many half-truths circulating through the South already, causing hatred, bigotry, cruelty, death, and real emotional instability, for any of us to air poorly founded views before the public.

Free speech is our right. But, for heaven's sake, let's not try to convince others with this double-triple talk. If it's World Constitutional Law, tell us all about it, all your ideas. If it's White Supremacy, stick to that subject. If it's Law, words like "subdue" are out of place.

WYATT BURKETT, JR.

404 East Burdeshaw Street,
Dothan, Ala.

SEES WORLD WAR III AHEAD

Editor, The Advertiser: *The Advertiser*

For two days now I've read Mr. Anderson's letters, one on Tuesday, Aug. 13, and one on Friday, Aug. 16; this last time he really hit the jack-pot with his world law.

Mr. Anderson's solution seems to mean everything except world democracy. Furthermore, I thought we fought World War II for a democracy everyone could enjoy, regardless of race, creed or color; we all fought for it, why not all races and creeds enjoy it in peace? *Montgomery, Ala.*

If, at the Peace Conference being held in Paris today, even one of the delegates thinks as Mr. Anderson, they might as well pack their bags and return to their respective countries. *Tues. 8-20-46*

Anyone can plainly see World War III in the making, even before I and many other veterans have the chance to convert to civil life completely.

In Mr. Anderson's letter of Friday, Aug. 16, he states as follows: "Whether the colored races of the world like it or not, God created the white man as a superior being, and it is his divine right and command that he subdue the earth. With this command goes the right and responsibility to rule, justly and fairly, by law and not by war." War is inevitable as long as we have world law as proposed by Mr. Anderson, or anyone who thinks the way he does.

E. NATHANIEL MOORE.

Route 1, Box 198,
Elmore, Alabama.

MAN AND HIS WORLD

Editor, The Advertiser: *The Advertiser*

In your Grandma section, Aug. 16, Mr. W. M. Anderson, Sr., further replies about the subject of "Protecting World Democracy" in which article he says: "Whether the colored races of the world like it or not, God created the white man as a superior being, and it is his divine right and command that he subdue the earth." *Montgomery, Ala.*

If organized religion taught this I'd throw it out. If the Christian Bible taught this I'd tear it up; if a minister of the Gospel tried to twist scripture so as to imply this, I'd brand him as a small-time Hitler. If the Christ, in any of his teachings of utterances implied that the Almighty had set up a special privilege group to exercise authority by divine right over other peoples because of color, I wouldn't care to hear or read any more of His utterances! The fact of the matter is that the Almighty has tried to instill the teachings of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man (all men, all colors) into the human heart these many years so that the world might have a real true democracy, but because of the monstrous ego in man, this teaching has not been accepted and is still a long way from acceptance, judging from Mr. Anderson's letter. *Tues. 8-20-46*

One other thought: Recently some archaeologists in making their annual report to the brethren of their profession said the preponderance of evidence from ancient civilizations seems to imply that the colored race was by far the superior race mentally and physically. Since archaeology is out of my line I don't propose to say yea or nay to that statement. What has me puzzled is this: The world is sure in a hell of a mess and from where I sit it looks like Hitler and some of his cohorts with their superior race doctrine helped get it that way.

CHARLES CAREY ROGERS.

Dothan, Ala.

P. S. I might add that I'm a native born, farm-raised white man.

Tell It To Old Grandma

The Advertiser, Montgomery, Ala.

"WHITE SUPREMACY"

Editor, The Advertiser:

While voting the Democratic ticket straight I was attracted by the motton written on the emblem of the party, (White Supremacy). *Fri. 11-8-46*

Does the Democratic Party really stand for white supremacy?

When one thinks of the New Deal and its attitude toward racial questions, not only the Negro, but other races scattered over the world and of Mrs. Roosevelt, the Eleanor Club, the Nuisance Club, Mr. Wallace, Mr. Hillman, Phil Murray and his C. I. O., the F. E. P. C. and its Democratic agents operating under a Democratic administration going over the country during the war, in reality stirring up racial feelings in our war plants, one cannot help from wondering what does the Democratic Party and its leaders stand for?

Is there a man anywhere in this country who is so simple as to believe we can have political equality for any length of time without having social equality?

Mr. Editor, when the Supreme Court reversed itself and threw the race issue back into our laps it did more, I am sure, than just declaring our State laws unconstitutional. It did away with State's rights; and henceforth white supremacy, if it survives, must of necessity be a national issue and every white man and woman in this land of ours, whether he be Democrat or Republican, Protestant, Catholic or Jew, will have to decide whether they stand for the white races and white supremacy or whether they choose racial equality with all of its friction and degrading influences.

There is one thing many of us would like to know. What occurred at a national convention or in Washington to cause the American Negro to make such a complete change in their political belief? It's common knowledge that prior to the New Deal and the Democratic administration the Negro almost to a man was Republican in political belief and affiliation.

The writer has an idea that Senators Hill and Sparkman, Congressman Boykin and many other senators and congressmen could throw some light on this if they would. The day for straddling by politicians seems to be nearing an end. Either one is for white supremacy and the white race or one is for political and social equality.

Forest Home, Ala. ROBERT C. RIVES.

SWAN SONG

The Advertiser

Editor, The Advertiser: *Montgomery, Ala.*

Man discovered gunpowder; man invented cannon—an early use at the taking of Constantinople, 1453; a man built the first submarine; men developed aviation, and the atomic bomb, and that new wonderful poison an ounce bottle of which can kill us all. Wonderful research! *Sun. 9-29-46*

I must admit that there have been really great men. Socrates who knew he knew so little. Copernicus, Pasteur, always modest. These had no desire to kill or rob anyone. But most men are quite dumb—they are unable to profit from the experience of even 5,000 years. That brings us to the present. A year after the cessation of fighting where have we arrived?

I propose to turn over the making of Peace to the women—since their share in the continuance of Race is a heavier burden than man's.

In the make-up of the United Nations Councils, and Peace Conferences, bring home all the men; and replace them at this work by their wives or mothers or select other women. Among the last as available are the Queens of Holland and England, Mrs. Attlee, the Soong Sisters, Mrs. Roosevelt, Madame Perkins, Eve Curie. There are many others whose names will occur to my readers.

Can they do a worse job than the men have so far done? They will conclude a workable peace in 12 months. In time there may be revision—is there any human question that has not been revised?

One question they will settle quickly—about Trieste. This city formerly belonged to Austria. Until the war of 1866, brought on by the arch-isolationist Bismark, that country was the leading German nation. What attention is paid to its wishes now? Let the women give Trieste back to Austria along with German speaking parts of the Tyrol, given to Italy in 1919. Let the women

give Fiume as a seaport to Yugoslavia. Ital will still have as seaports Genoa, Brindisi and Messina with perhaps Venice and Ravenna.

Now to come back home. In this part of the South, the greatest of all questions is "White Supremacy." I believe, at the present time, that the white race is more highly developed than the colored one. How long it will remain so, no one can tell. We brought them here against their wishes. For 250 years or so we thought we profited from their labor. Now it is even considered that we were injured rather than benefited by such a system.

I have no desire to surpass anybody else at anything—only to be as good as. The religion I have inspires me to treat everyone fairly—not that I have always done so. Furthermore I believe we will improve our own earthly future conditions (as well as our souls), if we do justice to this race . . .

The Pun will probably keep us going for several hundred years. What will then be the Race Question, who can answer? I will then be playing on a Golden Harp or perhaps have some task requiring higher qualifications.

C. M. TOLMAN

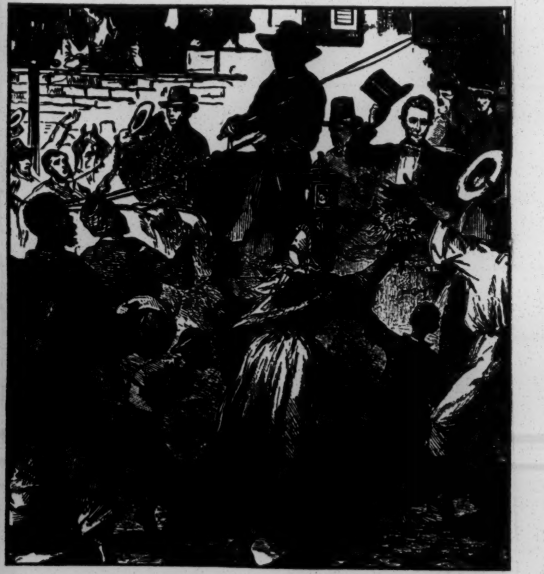
Uniontown, Ala.

Lincoln on Negroes

Newsweek Dayton, Ohio

In your discussion of white supremacy in NEWSWEEK of Oct. 21 you omit any mention of the inventor of white supremacy, one Abraham Lincoln of lasting fame. In his debate with Douglas at Charleston, Ill., in campaigning for the Presidency, Lincoln said of the two races: "While they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I as much as any other man am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white man." *Mon 11-11-46*

A study of political history in America reveals no man who could take from Lincoln the credit of being the "father of white supremacy." In that speech Lincoln also said: "I will say that I am not, nor ever



Culver

Lincoln and the "equals of every man"

have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races—that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of Negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office."

Mr. Lincoln was a real friend to the Negroes, as are those who have followed his judgment as to "white supremacy" and who advocate segregation today.

W. H. HARRIS

Fort Valley, Ga.

But Lincoln also said: "[The Negro] is my equal . . . and the equal of every living man," and: "As I would not be a slave, so I would not be a master. This expresses my idea of democracy."

Discrimination Merely Artificial Prop for 'White Supremacy,' Writer Says

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

South Carolinian Blames Financial Interests for Keeping Prejudice Alive

Sat. 9-21-46

SPARTANBURG, S.C.—In the "Readers' Opinion" column of the Spartanburg Herald, C. L. Guthrie, white reader, said the idea of "whites" being "better" than colored people falls of its own weight when such is maintained on the basis of "artificial props and racial discrimination."

"If I believe I can shoot a better game of pool than you, I would not ask that you spot me the ten ball. I would prefer to demonstrate my skill and ability by giving you the same opportunity I have," Mr. Guthrie asserted.

Needs No Props

He pointed out that the same might apply to alleged racial superiority. "If it is there, it does not need artificial props to maintain it. If it is not there, no amount of bolstering will maintain it forever.

"Let those who think they are superior quit clamoring for the ten ball," advised Mr. Guthrie. "Let them live it as men not destined to live forever. Such is the only way to merit the applause of men and to justify their claims of superiority."

Labor Exploitation

He expressed belief that certain financial interests do more to keep racial prejudice alive than all other factors combined and pointed out that the moving purpose behind this is the desire to exploit both white and black labor.

"As long as these forces can keep the flames of racial prejudice red and glowing, they can contribute to the maintaining of a reservoir of cheap labor, which will adversely affect the wages of all labor, he emphasized.

Answers Moot Question

Mr. Guthrie also pointed out that the white man's wages are, on the whole, somewhat higher than those of the colored man, but they are relative.

Answering the question, which usually comes up in such discussions, "Do you want your daughter to marry a colored man?" Mr. Guthrie said his daughter is a "free moral agent and therefore selects her own associates."

He declared that he wanted "no part in the planned discrimination against anyone simply because God-All-Mighty made his skin a different shade from my own."

Against This Sentiment

Mr. Guthrie made it plain that he is not in agreement with the sentiment of the white lady referred to in the following lines:

"She even thinks that up in heaven
Her class lies late and snores,
While poor black cherubs rise at seven
To do celestial chores."

Light-Skin Women Vote

Noting that a couple of colored women were permitted to vote without protest or without being subjected to undue embarrassment in the Sept. 3 Democratic primary, Mr. Guthrie received this answer as to why from one fellow:

"It was the fault of the County Democratic Executive Committee for failing to erase the names of participating colored people."

"I suggested," replied Mr. Guthrie the incident as the fault of anyone, one would probably have to blame the good Lord with it, since it was He who made those people black.

"I do not know what His plan or purpose was in so doing, but in the case of the two women in question, the probability that somewhere back on their ancestral line some no account white man had been tinkering with God's plan was obvious.

"These colored women must have white kin folks."

Supremacy

The Defender Chicago, Ill.

A FRIEND in Minden, La., whose name we omit advisedly, makes observations on local customs:

"Whenever a Negro girl gives birth to a white child she and her family have to bear all the burdens and humiliation, but whenever a white girl bears a Negro child, it is offered for adoption to the "best" Negro families. The whites will promise anything under the sun to any respectable family that will relieve them of a black sheep no matter how much their daughter loves her baby and its father. *Sat. 10-26-46*

"The Tower Theater presents an all-colored cast picture each Friday and Saturday midnight. Although Negroes are the only patrons to these shows, they must go down three blocks then around through an unlighted alley to get to the rear entrance to get in, but since all white customers are in bed after the show, Negroes are permitted to leave through the front main street entrance."